

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Holt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, MOBILE (157-1012)

SUBJECT: COMMISSION TO PRESERVE THE PEACE  
ALABAMA STATE LEGISLATURE

DATE: 7/15/65

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the Biennial Report to the Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace, which was submitted to the Alabama Legislature on June 29, 1965. This report is being submitted for information purposes only.

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② - Bureau (Encl. 1)  
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Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his staff

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BIENNIAL REPORT  
TO  
THE ALABAMA LEGISLATURE  
BY THE  
ALABAMA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION  
TO  
PRESERVE THE PEACE

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN HAWKINS, JR., CHAIRMAN  
SENATOR JAMES S. CLARK, VICE-CHAIRMAN  
SENATOR E.O. EDDINS  
REPRESENTATIVE HUGH A. LOCKE  
REPRESENTATIVE ALTON TURNER

100-442529 1361  
ENCLOSURE

If you will not fight for the right when you can easily win without bloodshed; if you will not fight when your victory will be sure and not too costly; you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival. There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves...

Winston Churchill  
"The Gathering Storm"

Communism as an identified ideology dates back to the publication of THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO by Karl Marx in 1848. It is, thus, three quarters of a century younger than Americas' own great experiment in Democracy. Yet, in its final concept Communism is as old as oppression of freedom - it is as old as dictatorship - because that is what it is when the subterfuge of "Peoples Democracy" is stripped from it.

The Communist profess to hate Fascism such as epitomized by Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Theirs, the Reds say, was a dictatorship of the state, while Communism is the dictatorship of the workers, or proletariat. This is sophistry of the rankest sort. It is a good example of Communist double-talk in using words and terms to mean only what the Communist want them to mean. In reality, Fascism goes to the right to achieve complete dictatorship and to enslave the people. Communism goes to the left to achieve the same ends. When this vicious circle meets the results are identical - complete loss of individual freedoms, except for the favored few. The lower and middle classes are the first to feel the yoke of enslavement and minority groups are quickly brought to complete subjugation or purged.

In this we face a great paradox in the world today, and most particularly in the United States - that great melting pot of races.

Today Communist subversion in America is in large measure directed through minority groups. Remember, we said directed 'through' not directed 'by'.

As in all cases, Communist direction is in the hands of hard-core, trained red agents. Many of these have been trained in Russia, but many more are trained in America, either in Communist training schools or by long and careful tutelage under party leaders and party discipline.

Communism officially came to America in 1919, following the Bolshevik Revolution and take-over in Russia in 1917. Russia than, was the first nation to be brought to heel by the Ideology of Marx and Frederic Engles, who worked with Marx and helped to hammer out original Communist theory. It remained, however, for Nicoli Lenin, the modern "father of Communism", to implement and modify Marx and Engles' theories and to direct and ferment the overthrow of the Tzarist Regime in Russia in 1917.

Lenin was a strict disciplinarian and a revolutionary in every sense. He adopted as his slogan:

"Give us an organization or revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia."

He proscribed the type of organization he had in mind when he said;

"The organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession - in a country with an autocratic government."

For the purpose of this report we will try to deal only in specifics as these subversive influences affect Alabama. But by its' nature, the Communist conspiracy is not localized. Therefore, it is necessary to bring into focus the entire scope of the subversive apparatus and relate it, in so far as possible, to the problems thus posed to the State of Alabama and to its elected representatives.

THE ALABAMA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION TO PRESERVE THE PEACE was created in 1963 by the following Joint Resolution of the Legislature.

Act No. 3

H.J.R. 5 - Turner (Crenshaw)  
Brewer, Hawkins,  
Thomas, Merrill,  
Cates, Bevill,  
Fite, Engel,  
Goodwyn

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, certain persons, groups and organizations have been and are engaged in activities in the State of Alabama which are of an unlawful nature, endanger the sovereignty of the State of Alabama, and threaten the peace and dignity of the State of Alabama, and

WHEREAS, it is deemed necessary, proper and expedient to establish an agency or commission to do and perform any and all acts and things necessary and proper to preserve the peace and dignity of the State of Alabama.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THE SENATE CONCURRING, that a joint legislative committee to be known as the Commission to Preserve the Peace is hereby established with the following powers and duties;

1. Said joint legislative committee is hereby authorized and empowered to study, investigate, analyze and interrogate persons, groups and organizations who may be engaged in activities of an unlawful nature against the sovereignty of the State of Alabama, and which may be detrimental to the peace

and dignity of the State of Alabama. The commission shall have power to hold hearings at any place within the State of Alabama, the commission to determine its meeting places, said meetings to be open to the public or closed sessions, as the committee determines appropriate,

2. Said commission shall be composed of five members, three of whom shall be appointed from the members of the House of Representatives by the Speaker, and two of whom shall be appointed from the members of the Senate by the President of the Senate. The members of said commission shall serve at the pleasure of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate. The commission shall elect a chairman and vice-chairman from among its own number. Members of the commission shall receive no pay, but may be reimbursed the actual out-of-pocket expenses for travel to any meetings of the commission, upon submission of claims and proof for the same satisfactory to the commission.

3. The commission may employ and fix compensation of a secretary and such investigators, experts, other clerical and technical assistants as it may consider necessary to the performance of its duties.

4. All expenditures of the commission shall be paid from the general fund of the State of Alabama, out of funds not otherwise appropriated, said expenditures to be set by the state comptroller upon requisition issued by the chairman of the commission.

5. The commission shall report its findings to the both Houses of the Legislature and to the Governor, together with its recommendations, if any, for necessary legislation.

Approved May 21, 1963.

During the first several months of the life of the Commission, it operated with only one paid employee, Mrs. Mavis Hicks. During that time outside investigators were employed to begin gathering information for the files. In this work, and in the purchase of certain required equipment the Commission expended approximately \$5,000.

In February, 1964, the Commission, by resolution, employed the part-time services of Mr. Edwin Strickland, to serve as

Staff Director for the agency; to set up its files, make investigations, write reports, and to generally direct the work of the agency.

A number of private staff studies were completed. These were dealing with individuals known to be working with, or used by, known subversive agents.

In March, 1964, the Commission directed Mr. Strickland to make a study and analysis of the then pending Civil Rights Bill. This study was later printed, and is made a part of this report.

This published study received nation-wide attention, and demand for it required three separate printings. Permission was also given to interested persons to reprint the report. We know that at least 100,000 additional copies were thus produced and distributed.

During the month of May, Commission Chairman John H. Hawkins, Jr. and Staff Director Strickland, conferred with the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives and with the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security. A result of these conferences was a valuable interchange of information and a working relationship was thus established between these two agencies and the Commission.

Later in the month of May, Chairman Hawkins and Strickland were invited to participate in the Annual Conference of the Southern Association of Investigators, meeting in Montgomery. The subject dealt with by Commission personnel

was "Communist Subversion in Racial Unrest". The two hour program on this subject drew official commendation of the investigative group, representing nine states. Both Hawkins and Strickland were invited to become members of The Southern Association of Investigators, and were duly voted into membership.

In June, 1964, a study was made by the Staff Director on the activity of The National Council of Churches, as it related to racial unrest in Alabama and the South.

This report was released only on individual request, but received wide distribution by this method, both in Alabama and other states. The demand for this pamphlet is still heavy from all parts of the country and we continue to distribute several hundred copies each week. The total number of this report so distributed is approximately 25,000.

This Commission has felt that its function could be best served in working as a coordinating body for police agencies. We have had excellent cooperation from police and sheriff departments through-out the state, and from city and county officials. On request, we have furnished reports to many of these agencies, as well as agencies from several other states.

The Alabama Public Safety Department, under direction of Col. Al Lingo, has worked closely with this Commission and furnished valuable assistance to it.

We furnished certain confidential reports to other police agencies from time to time. Because of the nature of these, they are not included in this report, but are available for inspection by members of the Legislature.

Throughout the entire life of this Commission, we have attempted to keep a first-hand surveillance on groups and individuals who were working in areas sensitive to State security as well as those who were known trouble-makers, or were associated with persons or organizations known to have subversive backgrounds. In this field, personal investigations were made in so far as limited personnel permitted. We have also used the service of other police agencies and private investigators and informers.

In some cases testimony has been taken on a voluntary basis from certain witnesses believed to have information of value to the Commission. We have been careful, always, to afford full protection to such sources.

By request we have furnished information to the administrators of two colleges, several local Boards of Education, the mayors and/or other officials of some twenty municipalities, and to police agencies in several states.

The requests for information and material from our Commission has grown steadily, as attested to by the fact that more than 275,000 copies of three reports have been distributed by the Commission during the past fifteen months. These requests to the Commission have come from

almost every state of the union and from hundreds of cities all over the nation. We have been hard pressed to fill requests due to the lack of funds for printing sufficient numbers of reports. We paid for and distributed approximately 40,000 items and we granted reprint rights which were used to print and distribute an estimated 240,000 additional copies. The three publications that have been so much in demand are made a part of this report. In addition, we have compiled a number of reports not for public release, but which are available to authorized persons on request.

The Staff Director of the Commission has worked closely with law enforcement agencies in Selma, Marion, Montgomery, Tuscaloosa and other areas where demonstrations have occurred. The city, county and state officers are to be thanked and commended for their valuable cooperation in the gathering of facts and materials on which the Commission has been able to base its reports.

In addition, the Commission, in some instances, has employed the services of individuals and investigative groups out of state where such services were indicated. This is in addition to the services that have been freely forthcoming from police agencies, and other agencies in several cities and states.

While the Commission has tried to utilize its own resources whenever possible to conserve funds, we have found it necessary and desirable to use the paid services of some

persons who were able to obtain valuable information for the Commission. The total expenditure for this type service has averaged less than \$90.00 per month.

During the march from Selma to Montgomery on March 21-25, 1965, the Commission cooperated with other agencies and with the Governor's office, to film the event and to identify, whenever possible, those participating. The Staff Director worked as co-ordinator of this effort, documented the film and was co-author of the script. During the approximate six weeks so engaged, the other work of the Commission was necessarily slowed down. The film that resulted from this effort is a documentation of the Communist, activists and revolutionary forces participating in this mass demonstration.

We feel the first twenty months of work of this Commission proved its worth to Alabama. Starting from nothing, the Commission has attracted favorable attention, and has been widely quoted by national publications, by major anti-Communist groups and even in numerous pulpits. It has also been attacked by certain groups who do not agree with the work of the Commission. These include at least one New York Congressman known for his extreme ultra-liberal, and even pro-Communist, stance.

In summarizing our work to date, we feel justified in the following conclusions:

1. The work of this Commission has received nationwide attention and has drawn unstinting praise from many groups and persons interested in the

preservation of our democratic institutions in the face of the anti-democratic forces arrayed against them.

2. That our work has activated others to join in the growing concern over the erosions of our constitutional liberties

3. That we have been able, in some degree, to lessen the assault on Alabama by alerting proper agencies to plans for such assaults well in advance.

4. That we have established contacts that can make our work in the future even more effective.

#### WHAT COMES NEXT ?

As this report is compiled, it is possible to forecast, with what we feel is complete accuracy, some of the things that will face state, county and municipal officials during the next few months.

There is a growing movement on the part of certain civil rights groups to become more militant in pursuing unreasonable demands upon government at all levels, as well as on private businesses. The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has set up headquarters in all major cities of Alabama, and in almost half of the smaller communities in rural counties. This group's leadership and history indicates that it is deeply marxist-oriented, tending toward the pro-Chinese Communist and pro-Castro brands of activity.

It is, in the opinion of this Commission, an extremely

dangerous, irresponsible group, which tends to promote acts of violence to gain support for their own goals. (See citation)

A financial supporter of SNCC in this is the Southern Conference Education Fund, an alter-ego of the cited Communist front, Southern Conference For Human Welfare.

These two groups are working hard on our college campuses to activate students, and to form student groups oriented to the far left, to be used as a spearhead in their drive against state institutions, laws and social customs. The Commission has concerned itself with keeping abreast of such campus groups. Federal Bureau of Investigation Director, J. Edgar Hoover has been warning for the past three years that this infiltration of our colleges is the prime target of the Communist. This is borne out daily by known activity on some campuses, plus the weekly reports by the Communist themselves in such party publications as THE WORKER, THE MILITANT and POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

WE are further faced with the growing attempt of Black Muslim groups to join hands with SNCC and other groups on the far-left. Frequent meetings are being held in Montgomery and elsewhere between SNCC leaders and identified Black Muslim leaders. This Muslim influence is also reflected in the origin and leadership of such local groups as GROW (Get Rid of Wallace) and REACT (Racial Equality and Civil Treatment).

This Commission has evidence that these local groups

were organized by three leaders of the Black Muslim Cult and that these groups are closely tied with SNCC and has ties with SCLC and other civil rights groups.

It is further interesting to note that during the Selma-to-Montgomery march scores of GROW buttons were observed on the lapels of march leaders, including a large number who left the airport by plane for their home states during the twenty-four hours following the end of the march.

Martin Luther King's group, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), has been competing with SNCC for leadership of the so-called Civil Rights movement in Alabama. This struggle between these groups has at times become bitter and there is evidence that it will become more so in the future. It could result in an open break, since SNCC is manning the picket-lines. But so far an open break has not developed. This was emphasized on the last day of the march when the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, King's top aide, told the group in front of the Alabama State Capitol that funds could be sent to either SCLC or SNCC headquarters in Atlanta, "It will all go for the same cause."

Abernathy first asked for money only for SCLC, but James Foreman, the SNCC firebrand, rushed to Abernathy and conferred with him. It was then that Abernathy added SNCC to the funds appeal.

King is being pulled further to the left by the pressure from SNCC and other leftist action groups, such as Congress

of Racial Equality (CORE). Currently the trend seems to be that King is in control of the older groups who have the money, but SNCC is getting the campus support and trying to force King to either get out or to lead further to the left.

CORE has been involved only to a minor degree so far in the Alabama demonstrations. It has aligned itself with SNCC, however, and, under identified Communist leadership, is attempting to formulate in Alabama a coalition group like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). This group in Mississippi is liberally laced with identified Communist and pro-Communist, especially in its legal staff, supplied in part by the CITED Communist front NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD.

Plans have been in discussion stage since January, 1965, by representatives of SNCC, SCLC and local Civil Rights groups to mount a challenge to the election of certain members of the Alabama Legislature, especially those from counties where there is a predominant Negro population. They also plan to run candidates from a third party against members of Congress next year. So far, plans do not include opposition to major candidates for state office. The reason is that they feel they have a better chance of challenging members of Congress just as they are doing in Mississippi. This challenge cannot be brushed off lightly due to the liberal makeup of the present Congress. This is a problem that suggests sober thought by members of The Alabama Legislature.

## SNCC

The Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace, on the basis of evidence hereinafter set out, respectfully makes the following findings to the Legislature and to the Executive Department of the State of Alabama.

1. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, commonly known as SNCC, is extensively Communist dominated, and its leadership substantially follows the Communist Party line. This Commission finds that SNCC is an agent for the Communist conspiracy and measures up to every definition of a Communist Party Front.

The evidence upon which this finding is based is hereinafter set out in part and these findings are further supported by documents and evidence in the files of this Commission.

(A) John Lewis, 26, Negro of Troy, Alabama, is the titular head of SNCC. He has on many occasions made public statements calculated to overthrow, undermine or subvert the government of the State of Alabama and of the government of the United States.

(B) In 1963, Lewis participated as one of the leaders of the March on Washington. The speech he had prepared for that occasion was of such violent and revolutionary nature that other leaders of the march prevailed upon him to use more temperate tone.

Lewis is known to associate with many identified

Communists, including Carl Braden, Anne Braden, Dr. James A. Dombrowski and others. His organization has used the services of Carl and Anne Braden as publicity agents, and SNCC has received direct financial grants from the Southern Conference Education Fund, for which the three above identified Communists work. The SCEF was identified by the U.S. Senate Internal Securities Sub-Committee as the successor to the identified Communist Party Front apparatus, The Southern Conference For Human Welfare. This is proven in letters and documents seized from SCEF headquarters in New Orleans and reproduced by the Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities, (C) We have evidence that SNCC is closely aligned with Students For A Democratic Society (SDS) an admitted Marxist oriented student group. SNCC and SDS are found to be closely aligned and subsidized by The League for Industrial Democracy (LID), a radical socialist group headed by Michael Harrington and financially supported by the millionaire financier of Communist causes, Corliss Lamont. We have evidence that LID occupies joint offices with SDS, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and also with SNCC, at the same address.

The SNCC buttons and a special button "I SUPPORT MFDP" (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party) were ordered and delivered from The Olympic Button and

Emblem Co., New York 12, N.Y. and the bill for these was paid for by LID.

The MFDP, which is thus tied to SNCC - and is indeed an alter-ego of SNCC - is the group that has challenged the seating of some Mississippi Congressmen, and is supporting this challenge with the use of several identified Communist attorneys, as well as attorneys who are members of National Lawyers Guild, a cited Communist Front, and Americans for Democratic Action, a far-left, socialist-oriented group.

SNCC is also being supported, both financially and verbally, by Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a cited Communist front organization, headquartered at 421 Seventh Ave. New York City. The ECLC publishes a magazine called RIGHTS, which is currently urging its readers to contribute to SNCC in order that the cost of publicity for MFDP can be defrayed. Corliss Lamont is also chairman of ECLC and is its financial "angel".

Others joining in urging support of SNCC and its offspring MFDP include Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) a wing of the Communist Party oriented toward Red China and Cuba; Congress For Racial Equality (CORE), identified in Senate Committee reports as "working for a Soviet America"; Congress of Federated Organizations, (COFO) predominately under management of SNCC and CORE; and the National Association For

The Advancement of Colored People, (NAACP) whose board of directors features a record number of Communist front citations.

We have found conclusive evidence that SNCC is operating as the action arm in civil rights matters for the militant communist group, Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and has ties with other violent groups, including, Young Socialist Alliance, SDS, militant Labor Forum, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs (identified communist clubs on college campuses), CORE, UHURU, (a violent pro-communist group in Harlem) RAM, another violence-advocating, Communist-oriented civil rights group, and the Free Speech Movement. The latter is the Berkeley, California group which nearly ripped the University of California apart over their insistence on the right to use obscene four-letter words.

(D) Last year John Lewis, head of SNCC, traveled extensively in Africa and was honored by Communist leaders in several countries. He espoused the line "One Man, One Vote" and "Freedom Now", both phrases first introduced into Africa by Chinese Communist seeking to overthrow colonial rule.

(E) SNCC is currently preparing to send 500 delegates to a National Youth Festival in Algiers, July 28-August 7, 1965.

(F) James Foreman, executive secretary and "strong-man" of SNCC has been prominent in the leadership of many demonstrations in Alabama, including the Selma - to-Montgomery march. He is a vicious revolutionary with a violent hatred for all whites. This feeling he makes known freely when talking with Negro groups, including our own agents.

Foreman and Lewis have both been described by many national publications as being "activists, revolutionaries and dangerously far left".

(G) John Lewis was quoted by a national magazine in May, 1965, as admitting that "there may be some communists in SNCC, but they are not dictating policy".

(H) James Garrett, West Coast leader of SNCC, was quoted in the same national publication as saying some West Coast Communists went to Mississippi in 1964 and to Selma, Alabama, in 1965, to work with SNCC.

(I) There is mounting evidence that SNCC seeks to promote violence in order to spotlight civil rights campaigns and to bring federal intervention to abridge and to abolish sovereignty. John Lewis stated in California, during the early part of the demonstrations in Selma, that it was the intent of SNCC to create a situation in Alabama that would require the federal government to stage a take-over.

(J) Commission investigators have talked to paid

workers with SNCC and drawn admissions that a revolution is the aim of SNCC, working in conjunction with its two companion groups, MFDP and COFO.

We also have been told by paid SNCC performers that SNCC wanted violence - preferably to get some of its demonstrators killed in Alabama.

All this is in line and keeping with published plans of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and its program of using civil rights as a springboard to achieve a Soviet America. SNCC is following the Chinese Communist line in its support of a pull-out of American forces from Viet Nam.

This Commission has much additional evidence, which cannot be stated here, that SNCC is engaging in serious law violations on an interstate basis.

On the basis of this cumulative evidence, The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is found by this Commission to constitute one of the most serious attempts by the Communist in America, with support of Red China, Cuba and Communist Nations in Africa, to effect a violent overthrow of existing governments, state and federal, in the United States.

#### CORE

Some of CORE's activities have already been outlined in the documentation of SNCC. This group, while never having received a listing by the Justice Department as a

Communist front, has, nevertheless, received considerable documentation by the Senate Sub-Committee referred to earlier.

CORE has stated, through its spokesmen, that the group does not attempt to screen out Communists and this is evident by the large number of identified Communist agents working under CORE banners.

CORE was the principal supporter of SNCC and its Mississippi affiliates in trying to unseat the Mississippi congressional delegation.

CORE and SNCC jointly control COFO which lost the support of the NAACP and SCLC because of its extreme pro-red operation that proved too much embarrassment even for these two pro-left agitation groups.

CORE, according to mounting evidence, is moving even more into active communist identification. The dozen top leaders of CORE, including the director, James Farmer, and its Field Secretary, James Peck, have impressive pro-communist records.

It is, therefore, the finding and conclusion of this Commission that Congress For Racial Equality be cited as an important arm of the pro-communist conspiracy and a dedicated agent working toward the sovietizing of America.

#### S.C.L.C.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is the principal vehicle from which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. operates.

King has been previously documented by this Commission and part of this is elsewhere in this report.

Our evidence, as pointed out, shows that King is, and has been for ten years, closely advised by Communists if not actually controlled by them. This evidence is further supported by some 60 pro-communist citations King has amassed since 1955 - a near record-breaking performance by this false prophet of the far-left.

SCLC has received help and support from - and given support to - the identified communist front, Southern Conference Education Fund.

On April 21, 1965, at 8:30 P.M. King addressed a meeting of the Association of the Bar of New York City, at 42 West 44th Street. The meeting was by invitation only, and apparently the contents of King's speech was not fully reported in the press. Several identified communists were in attendance, including Bayard Rustin and Levi Lee Laub, chief lieutenant of the Progressive Labor Movement, and one of the leaders in violating the State Department's ban against travel to Cuba.

King, in that speech, stated that Communists were "patriots who believe in the responsible doctrine of the redistribution of wealth".

It is the finding of this Commission the the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is, and has been, actively engaged in promoting the communist line; that it is, and has been, substantially under control of Communists, and that it

callously operates under the front of a christian organization while actively working toward the overthrow of existing governments.

SCLC's non-violent doctrine is a farce, since this group's activities have resulted in more violence than any other single organization in the nation. The sham of this non-violent facade is further shown by King, himself, when he outlined, in the Saturday Review, how his tacticts work:

- (1) Non-violent demonstrations go into the streets to exercise their constitutional rights.
- (2) Racists resist by unleashing violence against them.
- (3) Americans of conscience, in the name of decency, demand Federal intervention and legislation.
- (4) Administration, under mass pressure, initiates measures of immediate intervention and immediate legislation.

MARTIN LUTHER, KING, JR.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is most probably not a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., nor of any identified Communist splinter party. But the ten year history of his rise to prominence through advocating Social Revolution is part and parcel of the Communist operation in America during that same period. During that time he has amassed an amazing number of Communist 'fronts' as well as a larger list of groups which follow the Communist line even though

they have not been officially declared a part of the Communist solar system of fronts.

During the same period, however, he has been closely, even intimately, associated with persons who have been officially labeled under oath before Congressional Committees as Communists. This list includes;

Bayard Rustin, King's executive Secretary for three years and still an intimate advisor. Rustin has served as an "observer" at the 1957 Communist Party Convention in New York, and has admitted he was an organizing member of the Young Communist League in New York for eleven years.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell, alias Jack O'Dell, was hired by King as executive director of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in charge of the SCLC activities in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. At the time O'Dell was hired by King he was a publicly identified member of the Communist Party. He was so identified in testimony before the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security on April 12, 1954, at which time O'Dell repeatedly invoked the Fifth Amendment.

After O'Dell had worked for King approximately a year, a newspaper, the St. Louis Globe Democrat, revealed his employment by King. King was then contacted by the Associated Press and said he had fired O'Dell. A year later it was again revealed by the AP that O'Dell was in fact still working for King in his New York office.

This deliberate falsehood on King's part was in keeping with J. Edgar Hoover's statement a few months ago that King was a "notorious liar".

F.L. Shuttlesworth, an ex-convict, has long served as King's right-hand man in the Birmingham and Selma demonstrations and is still active.

Shuttlesworth doubles as President of an officially identified organization, The Southern Conference Education Fund.

The SCEF is the successor to the old and notorious Southern Conference For Human Welfare, which changed its name after it was officially identified by ex-communist Paul Couch before the Senate Sub-committee as "a transmission belt for the Communist Party".

Other members of the SCEF include James A. Dombrowski, Carl Braden, Anne Braden and Wm. Howard Melish, Frank Wilkerson, all officially identified under oath as Communist Party members, and Benjamin Smith, who registered with the U.S. Government as an agent for Castro.

Dian Bevel, wife of James Bevel, one of King's top aides, is also a member of the SCEF Board, as is John M. Coe, Lawyers Guild Attorney of Pensacola, Florida, and the late Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Alabama who was publicly accused of being a Communist Party member but denied under oath that he was.

Williams long headed the extremely pro-communist front, Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

King is a signer of the petition to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and his name appears along with a large group of known Communists and veteran Communist Fronters.

Karl Prussian, former Communist Party member and secret F.B.I. informant in the party, made an affidavit in 1963 that King was set forth at Communist Party meetings as an individual the Communists should rally around in the Communist struggle on many racial issues.

Prussian also swore that King has either been a member of or wittingly accepted support from over 60 Communist Fronts, individuals and/or organizations which give aid to and espouse the Communist cause.

J. Edgar Hoover said in his report to Congress last year that many of the persons in clerical garb who took part in the march on Washington were identified by the F.B.I. as Communist Party members.

Hoover also reported that the Reds are working hard, and with some success, to infiltrate and take over the Negro protest movement.

The Communist confirm this in a letter from James E. Jackson and Louis Weinstock, in June 1963.

It was further documented by the late Communist leader, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, that Communists are playing a big part in the Negro protest movement.

THE WORKER, official organ of the Communist Party, has featured King more than three dozen times within the past

three years. The Communist have nothing but the highest praise for Dr. King and the movement he heads.

Along with the troubled outlook, there appears to be some factors favorable to a lessening of the pressures. The brightest hope seems to come from a growing awareness in other parts of the nation that most civil rights groups have gone too far and pushed too hard. This awareness is reflected in the rising tide of criticism of the "Movement" by some national magazines, some usually liberal syndicated columnist and even an occassional voiced criticism from the major television networks.

The national business community and even most national trade unions showed impatience with King's attempted boycott of Alabama. It was supported only by a few small groups outside the Communist Party press organs, and by the International Longshoremen's Union, headed by Harry Bridges, an identified Communist Party member.

King lost face both in the lack of support his proposal received and in the Communist identity of the support which he did receive. These excesses by King and other irresponsible and revolutionary civil rights leaders, is helping to initiate and push what appears to be a ground-swell of more conservative opinions. All these factors may be counted on the credit side of the ledger.

We would be less than honest to close this report on a note of high optimism. We have a long and hard fight

before us as a state and as a stable society. We think the evidence points to increasing problems on the racial front for the next several months, especially since so much group pressure is being applied to the matter by forces of the militant group.

The Commission feels that with the background of achievement and experience of the past twenty months its work will prove even more effective for the citizens of Alabama who oppose those forces of the far left which are threatening the very foundations of constitutional government, individual rights and economic freedom.

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The Civil Rights crisis promoted by Martin Luther King, Jr. and his agents, if allowed to run its planned course, could place in grave jeopardy the lives and property of many citizens of both races.

King and his group fully realize this. He has stated at mass meetings attended by local and state police officers that this is a fight to the finish against "the white Power Structure" and that it will continue even if it results in deaths. I was present in a Negro Church on January 14, 1965 when King made this statement, and stated further that "a man is not measured so much by what he lives for as by what he will die for."

"Revolution" has become a trade-mark and by-word of the movement and every speaker - King, Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Ralph Abernathy, James Bevel, and others, - uses it many times in each speech used to harangue a crowd. True, King still says "non-violent" revolution, but most of the other leaders, especially Bevel, have dropped the modifying phrase.

This assault on the peace and dignity of the people of Selma and of Alabama, is not a casual thing, and events are MADE to happen to fit into King's propoganda plans.

PROOF OF PLANNING

Enclosed with this report is a reproduction of the program outline King brought with him to Selma early in January. It fell into the hands of investigators and was reproduced from the original, apparently before King had even distributed it to his own leaders.

Significant in the report is the statement by King of how his "agit-prop" machinery would work. He points out that he will get in jail and that letters would then be sent out from the Selma jail over his signature. It was, therefore, known to law enforcement officers that King had planned to force his own arrest last Monday, February 1, 1965. The officers tried hard not to have to arrest King, even to releasing him once after he was arrested. It was obvious to all witnesses that King was determined to be arrested. This would be testified to by at least some reporters representing the Eastern Press corps. We received information from inside, reliable sources, that the letters King planned to send from the jail, were already in print and that thousands of envelopes were already addressed in Selma and Montgomery.

The letters are intended for two purposes: to serve as a propaganda weapon, and to elicit large funds from liberals and sympathisers in and out of Alabama.

King's aims extend far beyond trying to register qualified Negroes in Selma, or Marion, or Camden or Montgomery. As shown by his outline, he is planning to disrupt, if possible, the initial meeting of the State Legislature in regular session on May 4. (See plan for "Freedom Registration" and voting in 10 major cities and 21 Black Belt counties.) The format will be roughly the same as that tried by the Freedom Democratic party of Mississippi at the opening of the present Congress.

The "Oslo Prophet" is trying hard to introduce the issue of police brutality, and to use this issue as a propellant to set off frenzied demonstrations, such as those that rocked

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New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Boston, Los Angeles and Birmingham.

So far there have been no incidents of police using excessive force. Even with the eager press looking on, they have been able to mention only that on one occasion Sheriff Jim Clark caught hold of a Negro woman by the arm and collar and propelled her along the sidewalk at a fast walk during an arrest.

On another occasion, a large Negro woman, totally unprovoked, according to nearby witnesses, struck Sheriff Clark in the face with her closed fist. She was wrestled to the ground by deputies in trying to halt her attack, but she was not abused or injured.

It is remarkable that police and deputies have shown so much restraint in the face of almost day and night harrassment, arrogance and verbal abuse (ever being spat upon). F.B.I. officers have been present and photographed virtually every arrest. These officers and their photographers will vindicate every arrest in so far as physical handling by officers is concerned.

Adding generally to the seriousness of the situation is the presence of many obviously paid agitators from the radical Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Other groups known to be represented in the Selma trouble include Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Conference Education Fund. This latter group has been officially identified as a

Communist front, and many of the officials connected with this group have been identified in sworn testimony before Congressional Committees as Communist Party members.

One recently resigned official of SCEF, is registered with the federal government in Washington as an agent for Fidel Castro. He is Benjamin Smith, formerly treasurer of SCEF.

Fred Shuttlesworth, an ex-convict turned minister, is currently president of SCEF. He is in Selma as one of King's leaders.

Another extremely radical Negro leader of SNCC, active in Selma, is John Lewis. He preaches revolt, rebellion and violence. During the Washington march last year he had prepared a speech so militant that even such leaders of the march as Bayard Rustin and A. Phillip Randolph, objected to his delivering it and forced him to tone it down. This was reported the day after the march by Victor Reisel, national columnist, and other nationally recognized reporters. We have proof that SNCC in its Mississippi operation has many known and some admitted Communists in its organization. Lewis may or may not be a Communist Party member but his actions mark him as a close line-follower. Certainly he does nothing to try to rid his organization of known reds, and SNCC, on the other hand, says it doesn't care what a person is so long as he or she carries out the policies of SNCC.

James Bevel, husband of extremely radical Dian Bevel, is one of King's top paid leaders. He holds the title of General Field Secretary for SCLC. Bevel talks of revolution

and violence. (We have many such speeches on tape made by him.) Bevel is known to have close ties with Black Muslim groups. These groups openly advocate violence. King professes non-violence. This raises a serious question of King's sincerity, since he knows of Bevel's views, and Bevel disdains to hide them.

King, himself, has amassed a Communist Front record numbering more than 40 connections in less than 10 years. He is praised almost weekly as a great leader by THE WORKER, official Communist Party newspaper, and is known to number many identified communists and veteran "fronters" among his close associates.

Rustin, who served three years as King's executive secretary, has admitted in a national magazine that he served as an organizing member of a Communist Party group in New York for 11 years. He also is an ex-convict with many arrests and convictions, and an admitted sex-pervert. He also served as "an observer" at the National Communist Party convention in New York in 1957.

Another of King's close associates and former employees is Hunter Pitts O'Dell, alias Jack O'Dell. Though officially identified in sworn testimony before a Congressional Committee as a veteran Communist Party member, King continued to use his paid services for a year after it was first brought to his attention. King, further, lied in stating to reporters that O'Dell had been fired while O'Dell was in fact still repre-

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senting King in New York.

King has used, and continues to use, the services of Carl and Anne Braden both identified Communists, who work as field secretaries for SCEF. Carl Braden has served a term in Federal Prison for contempt of Congress.

To show Anne Braden's approach to Communism and the Civil Rights movement, we quote from her book HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES: - BULWARK OF SEGREAATION (Marzani & Munsell, N.Y. City, 1963) Page 38 says...."It would seem that a civil rights group must ask itself whether it really helps its course if it (screens) out those who are called Communists. Whether the charge be true or false, the more pertinent question would seem to be; What did the person do for or against civil rights"

This is an identified Communist who serves as one of the agit-prop corps for King. This fact is disclosed by Carl and Anne Braden themselves in letters seized by New Orleans police last year in the headquarters of SCEF. Those letters also prove the close connection between SNCC, CORE, SCLC and SCEF, and their overall connections with a host of the big names in Communism.

In the Selma operation, there is a growing number of out-of-state whites. While some of these may be publicity seekers only, the appearance, demeanor and actions of some of them strongly suggest that they are faithful Communist line followers at least.

The Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace, in keeping with the duties imposed upon us by the Legislature,

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has kept careful track of the events, organizations, and persons involved in the current lawless assault on Selma and the State. It is our firm belief that an impartial investigation by a Congressional Committee would disclose sinister influences detrimental to the peace and order of the state and the nation.

We would like to close this report by pointing out the following facts that are undisputed:

1. The Board of Registrars of Dallas County asked for, and was granted, 10 additional days in January to afford a better opportunity for registration of prospective voters.
2. During the first six days of this special registration only a few people showed up, virtually none of them Negroes.
3. King came to town and organized a march on the Board of Registrars on the seventh day of this registration. About 700 Negroes showed up, urged on by out-of-state whites. Officers identified in the registration lines many Negroes who were already registered voters, and many more who were not eligible for registration by virtue of not residing in the county and being under age of 21. The object was, obviously, to swell the numbers and create impossible confusion and incidents.
4. After trying to bring some order out of this chaotic situation Sheriff Clark gave numbered cards, in sequence, to those in line. He then directed that they wait their

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turn in line by standing in a large alley area between the court house and an adjoining building.

This order was a reasonable exercise of police power and good judgement. To have done otherwise would have resulted in the blocking of pedestrian traffice on sidewalks and vehicular traffic in the street because of the large numbers demanding accomodation.

The Negroes and some whites present for registration stood in the area designated the first day without serious complaint. Because no Negroes were present to receive numbers early, some 40 or more whites were first in line and no Negroes were reached on the first day. It should be pointed out that no Negro applicants showed up until approximately 10:30 A.M., when the large group marched up together. The Board had opened for business at 8:00 A.M. and the white applicants got in line on a first-come first-served basis.

On the second day of mass marching on the Board of Registrars, Negroes were again late in arriving. They came in a group shortly before noon. This pointed out the obvious fact that agitation and not registration was King's aim. This second day Negroes refused to stand in line in the designated area because King and Bevel had harangued them at a mass meeting the night before NCT to obey the order.

In the last two or three days of registration between 60 and 100 Negroes have been interviewed by the registrars, and their applications are being acted upon.

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King has repeatedly declared that the assault will be continued on many fronts in Alabama until the state is brought to its knees. The restraint so far showed by police officers and the citizenry has been admirable, especially since provocation to violence has been continuous and intense.

We cannot escape recognition of the possibility that an incident on either side could set off a chain reaction of violence that limited police personnel might not be able to handle before lives and property of innocent people of both races were put in grave jeopardy.

Since the Federal Courts have almost preempted enforcement in the Civil Rights field, serious consideration should be given to a thorough impartial investigation by the proper agencies of Congress before vast harm is done.

December 1964

Following are conclusions arrived at after a two day study of the organization and the operation of COFO in the State of Mississippi and principally in Jackson. NOTE: It is apparent at this time that after several months of operation of the so-called 'freedom army' in Mississippi that it is a failure and its demise is sure and certain.

COFO was set up as a co-ordinating agency for four of the principle civil rights groups in Mississippi. COFO could not operate last year in Alabama for the reason that the NAACP, one of the COFO groups, was at that time banned from operating in Alabama. Other groups in the COFO organization are CORE, SNCC, and Kings' SCLC. Since that time, through action of the Supreme Court, NAACP is now operating in Alabama and for this reason we may find, and indications are that we will, COFO or a similar organization causing trouble in Alabama in the months ahead. This has been stated by King, by Farmer and by other civil rights leaders who intend to concentrate again this year on Mississippi and on Alabama. Consequently, for this reason, I think some valuable lessons could be learned from what has happened in Mississippi.

The people of Mississippi have learned to pretty much ignore these so-called 'freedom workers' in their midst. They have withdrawn all support and that includes the local Negroes who are no longer, in most cases, furnishing beds or rooms or food or money for these workers. From their own statements, which we have obtained through co-operation of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, it is clear that

most of them are in dire financial need at this time - that they are generally looked upon by both the white and the Negroes as an ineffectual group - misfits at best. They are considered as a group of people with no morals. This feeling is substantiated by reports of their actions since they have been in Mississippi. They appear now to be uncertain which way to turn or which way to go - they seem to have very little leadership left; others seem to be on the verge of doing so and many, it is felt, would have already left Mississippi except for the fact that they lack funds.

This group seemed to have been well financed in the beginning. I think the repeated failures which were evident to those backing this group caused the flow of money to be cut down considerably and in some cases cut off entirely. I think too, that the actions of the law enforcement people in Mississippi could well be a subject of study by law enforcement people of Alabama. They have simply enforced the laws stringently against these people for matters out of the field of civil rights work such as not having proper drivers license, or for other violations which would not come under the civil rights laws of Federal Jurisdiction. This in many cases cost considerable money in bonds, in getting them out of jail, in fines, in legal fees and contributed materially to the break-down of the entire operation in Mississippi.

After discussing the matter with many officials in Mississippi , it is my conclusion that had there not been certain acts of violence committed in Mississippi during the

early part of the Mississippi Project (particularly the death of the three workers) that the entire COFO operation in that state would have been short lived. It would have received very little national publicity and a lot less financial support than it did receive in later months.

At this time, COFO stands in the eyes of practically everybody in Mississippi a thoroughly discredited group of people, beatniks and worse. Their personal morals seem to be very low in most cases. Their personal appearance and the fact that they do not take normal sanitary measures have made them unwelcome in almost any business establishment in Mississippi.

It is entirely possible, and probable, that because of the experience of the last few months in Mississippi that when the new assault begins on Mississippi and Alabama in the Spring that it will be a reorganized type of assault and that a different type of person will be sought for the job.

It was pointed out by some of the personnel in the COFO operation, through informants which we were able to get, that many of the so-called students themselves had a great deal of difficulty in relating one to the other. This cut down the effectiveness outside their own group. Personal jealousies were evident and actual fights were common in the "Freedom Houses".

Informants said the movement was not only Communist inspired, but that many COFC leaders openly admitted their

Communist Party membership. In many cases, not going so far as to admit membership, they admitted great admiration for Castro's Cuba, for Stalin, Lenin, Khruschev and other of the Communist world leaders and may admitted that they were working for a Marxist Society in America.

Along with this it might be noted that all of the COFO workers who expressed themselves, disclaimed a belief in God. In many cases they showed a contempt for institutions of America. They advocated free love and, according to the evidence we have, practiced free love on an inter-racial basis.

All this certainly indicates that there is no permanent basis for a successful operation by this group in the South in its present form. They seem to have miscalculated the tenor of the white people of Mississippi. They mentioned several times that it would be necessary that they get the co-operation of the poor white people of Mississippi in order to combine their voting power with that of the Negroes to challenge what they call a white power structure in Mississippi.

They seemed to feel in the begining that this would be a natural inclination on the part of the poor white people. When this did not materialize they were at a loss to understand it.

It was interesting to note that COFO workers admitted that they had been unable to involve many white people of Mississippi in their program. They further complained that their acceptance by the Negroes was not, in many cases, what

they had thought it would be. They were resented in some places. When they called upon many negro families doors would be closed in their faces. This seemed to belie what they had expected and had been taught; that Mississippi was a benighted country and that all of the state, with the exception of the white power structure, would fall on their knees and welcome them as saviours. This certiinly did not happen.

It seems a fair conclusion that those remaining in Mississippi are generally what might be considered the hard core, paid members of radical organizations, and that this group would comprise a nucleous of any future workers in other states such as Alabama. Because of this the names and identities of the persons who are known to have been operating in Mississippi were obtained by us. This should be of considerable help to Alabama when we must face this same thing; if it comes from this same source, which certainly seems to be the plan right now.

Among the most significant things to me, and maybe the most important, is the make-up of the lawyers committee that is handling these legal matters in Mississippi and a group of doctors which was operating under COFO in a health program. We have obtained the names of these people.

It appears that voter registration will be the No. 1 thing in Alabama, with the drive starting in early Spring.

June 1965

This is a follow-up on a report of December 1964, relating to the Civil Rights movement and organizations in Mississippi.

Council of Federated Orgnaizations, (COFO) which was the coordinating group in Mississippi, is virtually out of operation, as we predicted in December, 1964. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) is now the coordinator, and has absorbed COFO, according to a report in the April issue of the cited Communist Front newspaper, SOUTHERN PATRIOT.

The National Council of Churches, reported on last June in a special pamphlet prepared by this Commission, continues to play a major -sinister- part in the Mississippi mvoment

The NCC has established a training school at Mt. Beulah, Edwards, Mississippi, to train civil rights workers. We have been able to get investigators into this school and have obtained irrefutable evidence, including pictures, proving that the Edwards operation is closely related to the Highlander Center, in Tennessee. The latter, of course, is an identified Communist training school. Miles Horton, head of Highlander, has been working at Edwards. We have pictures of Horton at Edwards.

Since our December, 1964, report we have established the fact that many of the attorneys working in Mississippi are identified Communists. Several of them have worked in Alabama since our first report. Also, a number of the field workers we identified in Mississippi last year are now in Alabama and several were involved in the Selma-to-Montgomery march.

June 1965

It has been revealed by the SOUTHERN PATRIOT , and other Communist publications recently, that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is actually in over-all charge of all the Mississippi operation. (See SNCC documentation in this report). This radical group is also assuming the major leadership in Alabama, under the background influence of League for Industrial Democracy (LID), and The Progressive Labor Movement (PLM).

As we predicted last year, at least one of the Civil Rights groups has announced it is trying to get a type of worker different to the bearded, smelly beatniks, to conduct voter registration drives this summer in Mississippi and Alabama. The NAACP is recruiting 500 workers to come to Alabama in July, 1965. They have made it clear they don't want the beatniks, who have marked the earlier activities of the movement.

SNCC, however, has several hundred now in Alabama, and are planning to bring in 1000 more in July and August for their "Long, hot Summer". These SNCC workers will again be the type so familiar to the revolutionary movement.

The current activity of SNCC in Montgomery, and in other counties in which they are concentrating this Summer, is in organizing a type of Union among Negro domestic workers; cooks, waiters and maids. They have held a series of meetings in Montgomery in early June. The activity is under direction of a Negro who lives on South Jackson Street, and he is being helped and advised by a white man from Auburn, Alabama. The

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purpose of the so-called work boycott is to further stir up trouble in the community by making the domestic workers feel they are being mistreated and under paid.

The same type of work is being carried on in rural areas among farm workers.

SNCC has made a "survey", they say, that shows Negro farm workers make an average of only eighteen cents (.18¢) per hour, and that domestics make less than fifty cents (.50¢) per hour. These figures bear no relationship to the actual figures, but are used for propaganda purposes only.

There is growing unrest among responsible Negro groups over some of the activities and tactics of SNCC in Montgomery. These responsible Negroes are complaining that whites are coming, often uninvited and unwanted, into social gatherings and seem to enjoy "showing off" as mixed couples at dances, clubs, etc. This has all the elements of serious trouble. There is talk among some Negro groups of taking matters into their own hands and driving the SNCC group out of the community. As more and more are brought in, the danger of violence on this front continues to grow.

Added to this problem is the mounting evidence, supported by our own informers, that many of the civil rights workers are engaging in illicit drug traffic. Locally, we are informed, there is fairly wide distribution and use of certain types of barbituates and benzines, as well as some marijuana.

Investigative sources in New York have documented for the Commission the sale of narcotics, benzines, marijuana and

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dangerous hallucinatory drugs such as LSD and "Keif". The investigative sources have identified some of the persons active in civil rights activities in Alabama as purchasers of these drugs from a named contact in New York. One named contact sold over \$1,500.00 worth of drugs to identified civil rights workers during the weekend of the April 17, march on Washington, according to our investigators.

The groups in the April 17, march "TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM" were identified by the New York investigators as:

The Progressive Labor Movement  
Youth Against War and Fascism  
W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of New York University  
and City College of New York  
Young Socialist Alliance  
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee  
Congress of Racial Equality  
Young Southerners League of the University of  
Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina  
Society for a Sane Nuclear Policy  
Woman's Strike for Peace

plus small representation from a dozen other groups.

These far left groups have strong support in high political circles in New York. On May 14, 1965, they held a drug party at the cooperative apartment on Long Island of a powerful New York politician. The party was sponsored by SNCC. Several persons active in SNCC and other radical Negro groups in Alabama were identified at the party.

The use of "pick-up" drugs seems to be encouraged as a policy by some of the civil rights groups and are used as recruiting tools and as a means of controlling those who become active. A number of nationally known entertainers are

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"regulars" at these "pot parties", some of which last three days. Promiscuous sex activitees, normal and abnormal, take place at these orgies, as an investigator puts it, "with such frequency as to not even command attention."

The above is pointed out from our raw investigative files only for the purpose of emphasizing the extent and caliber of the opposition with which we must contend. Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), deeply influenced by Peking, Hanoi and Havana, is working hard for bloody revolutions everywhere in America, and especially in the South. The group has members working in Alabama now, and plans to send scores more in during the Summer. These PLM leaders are saying the revolution will be consummated "by the use of armed Afro-Americans from the South and ghettos in the North".

PLM and old-line Communist agitators have physically clashed in both New York and Chicago over who would control local forces in time of riot. Communist leaders are trying to work out a peace formula to keep down an intra-fraternity fight that might hurt the overall cause.

PLM seems to have the upper hand in such youth groups as the Free Speech Movement, which originated on the campus at Berkeley, California; The Students for a Democratic Society and the M-2-M. (This refers to a group formed after student riots in New York on May 2, 1964. The DuBoise Clubs, on the other hand, appear to be under influences of the old line Communist Party, U.S.A.

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In November 1964, John Lewis of SNCC, (see documentation) and ten other members of SNCC, were guests of the Guinea, Zambia, Egypt and Kenya as official guests. There are reports, unconfirmed to date, that finances and certain other help, such as arms were promised some civil rights groups by Ghana.

Lewis was a guest of Ben Bella, noted Algerian Communist leader, last year. This year SNCC plans to play a major role in the World Youth Festival (Communist) in Algeria, July 28-August 7, 1965. These SNCC members attending will be hand-picked by SNCC Executive Secretary, James Foreman.

The evidence is substantial that SNCC does not work toward social reform but complete revolution on the Marxist-Leninist pattern. SNCC uses outright Communist literature, and keeps it on hand at their Freedom Houses. This literature includes, among other publications, The Communist newspaper NATIONAL GUARDIAN, and SOUTHERN PARRIOT. (Our investigators have obtained these two papers from SNCC headquarters).

To indicate further that SNCC is acting on an international scale the group recently made an appeal (a copy was obtained by investigators) to leaders of several African countries urging them to retaliate in any way they saw fit for the "atrocities committed against Afro-Americans in Alabama". The appeal was sent to the following:

Kwame Nkrumah, Accra, Ghana  
Jomo Kenyatta, Nairobi, Kenya  
Kenneth Kauanda, Lusada, Zambia  
Ahmed Ben Bella, Algiers, Algeria  
Gamal Abdel Nasser, Cairo, United Arab Republic  
Sekou Toure, Conakry, Guinea  
Julius Nyerere, Dares Salaam, Tazamania

June 1965

The danger signal cannot be ignored. The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), now concentrating its major efforts on Alabama, must be watched closely and eventually it must be smashed by legal action, or we will court a major disaster.

COMMUNISTS  
IN  
CIVIL RIGHTS

PREPARED BY THE STAFF OF  
THE  
ALABAMA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION  
TO PRESERVE THE PEACE

STATE CAPITOL BUILDING  
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA



Representative JOHN H. HAWKINS, *Chairman*

Senator JAMES S. CLARK, *Vice Chairman*

Senator E. O. EDDINS

Representative ALTON TURNER

Representative HUGH A. LOCKE, JR.

EDWIN STRICKLAND, *Staff Director*

MRS. MAVIS S. HICKS, *Secretary*

## FOREWORD

Alabama as one of the five Southern states who carried their revolt against Civil Rights extremism to the polls on Oct. 3, is in the target area for new Negro demonstrations led by such Negro action groups as Congress for Racial Equality, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

During the early days of the Presidential race just finished, these Negro groups showed callous contempt for the intelligence of the American voting public by announcing that street demonstrations and racial violence would be terminated for the duration of the campaign because it was adversely affecting the chances of the national Democratic Party. By this action, the Negro leadership proved what they have previously denied — that they COULD and DID call the shots on street rioting and lawless demonstrations.

The sound of the last ballot hitting the box had hardly died away when Martin Luther King, of the SCLC, James Farmer, of CORE, and officials of SNCC, gave the word in New York for renewed street demonstrations.

King predicted new demonstrations in Ala-

bama and Mississippi "in the very near future."

The press reported a post election meeting of The Northern Student Movement, financing agent for SNCC, at Columbia University, in New York. William Strickland, leader of the Northern Student Movement, announced plans for massive Summer campaigns such as the Mississippi Project. He said they "will attempt to organize people around poverty." This is to take the form of rent strikes and political organizations among poverty groups in Northern urban areas. King is planning to add his weight to this drive.

Before the election, King sent out appeals for money for new demonstrations. He pointed out in these appeal letters that the deep South would become a rallying point for "right-wing extremists," after the election.

On October 9, 1964, the NAACP filed papers in Alabama to qualify as a foreign corporation. Peter Hall, Birmingham Negro attorney, was designated as their official agent in Alabama. Fred Grey, Montgomery, was the attorney who handled the filing.

So the stage is set for more lawless demonstrations. It is for this reason we offer the following evidence.

### COMMUNISTS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

October 20, 1964

Communists have been assuming leadership roles in the civil rights movement, promoting violence, racial hatred and widespread law violations.

This charge was made and documented by the Alabama Legislative Commission to Preserve the Peace as early as February, 1964. Now the accuracy of these charges are being documented from one side of the nation to the other by such outstanding authorities as J. Edgar Hoover, of the F. B. I.; U. S. Senator James Eastland, of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and Representative James B. Utt, Republican Congressman from Cali-

fornia and a man most alert to the threat of Communism in America.

These men have been backed up by such national news columnists as Joseph Alsop and others, including Drew Pearson. After the Harlem riots of July 1964, the deputy mayor of New York charged that known Communist Party members were active in causing strife in New York.

On September 18, 1964 Mr. Hoover released a report on the major riots in the East, and concluded that they had not been organized on a national basis by any individual or groups.

Civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins, of

the N.A.A.C.P., James Farmer, of C.O.R.E., Martin Luther King, of the S.C.L.C., quickly seized on the report to say the F.B.I. Chief had found there were no communists in the Civil Rights movement.

Mr. Hoover neither said nor implied this. As a matter of fact, he pointed out in his report that such openly violent and subversive groups as the Progressive Labor Movement; Black Muslims; and members of the Communist Party U.S.A., were identified as taking part in the riots.

The Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) was described by Hoover as a Marxist-Leninist group following the more violent Communist Line. One of its organizers is a former Secretary of the New York Communist Party, Hoover pointed out.

On July 16, 1964, according to the F.B.I. report, this Communist and his P.L.M. group, distributed thousands of copies of a handbill containing the photographs of a New York Police lieutenant under the headline; "WANTED FOR MURDER." This policeman had fired in self-defense and killed a negro youth who was advancing on him with a knife and refused to heed a warning shot to stop. The policeman was subsequently cleared of all blame by a New York Grand Jury.

Hoover's report also said:

*"Another officer of the P.L.M., also a former member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., resigned from the party because it was not sufficiently revolutionary, and organized a number of groups in the Harlem area in New York City early in the Summer. These groups were to be prepared to exploit incidents and were alerted to that end. Two days after the shooting above referred to this individual arranged a street meeting in New York City announcing there was going to be a demonstration, 'not necessarily peaceful,' and that he and his followers, 'were going to kill cops and judges,' that 'no revolution can be won by peaceful means' and that this state must be smashed 'totally and completely.'*

*"A negro who formerly was organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party U.S.A. achieved wide-spread publicity early this year through leadership of rent strikes. Three days after the shooting on July 16, this individual issued a public call for 'a hundred skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die' to correct what he called 'police brutality.'*

*"The Communist Party U.S.A. does not appear to have officially instigated these riots though its members were observed taking part in some and its former members are leaders of P.L.M., the Labor Vanguard and other such groups.*

*"For example, two individuals with histories of Communist affiliations were instigators and leaders of the riots in at least two of the cities in New Jersey. Neither of these men appears to be more than a local and comparatively unimportant independent agitator with an organization which can claim only a few members at most. Neither of them started the riots but they capitalized on them and tried to continue them.*

*"In another city, one agitator with a racial background was found eleven separate times haranguing crowds in a riot area, shouting falsehoods about abuse of the people in the neighborhood and inciting further and more violent riot action."*

In the face of this mounting evidence, Negro leaders have hotly protested that no Communists were active in their movement. Rev. Martin Luther King, who has been closely aligned with known Communist Party members for many years, retorted in Greenwood, Miss., that "there are no more Communists in the Mississippi Summer Project than there are Eskimos in Florida." King, himself, has amassed the staggering total of more than 60 Communist-front affiliations since 1955.

King also said again that there are no Communists in his Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

King was wrong on both counts, and he knew

he was wrong and untruthful when he made the statement.

With King at the time he made the statement was Bayard Rustin, who served as King's executive secretary for three years and still acts as advisor and right-hand-man on many of King's projects.

Rustin was a young Communist leader and, by his own admission in an interview published in THE SATURDAY EVENING POST in July, was a Communist Party organizer for twelve years.

Rustin has a long criminal record, including a case in which he pleaded guilty to an act of perversion in California, and another where he served a federal sentence as a draft dodger. At the time King declared there were no Communists in his movement or in the Mississippi projects, Rustin was with him and shared the platform with him.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell, who took the fifth amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and who was identified by witnesses as a Communist Party member, worked for more than a year with King's S.C.L.C. Movement. King repeatedly denied that O'Dell was connected with his organization until the facts were proven otherwise, then he admitted that O'Dell had been employed by the S.C.L.C.

King, himself, has been virtually surrounded by Communists or Communist fronters since 1955. While running a "Religious Hootenanny", no man in America has received more praise or more space coverage in such Communist newspapers as THE WORKER and PEOPLE'S WORLD, as has Martin Luther King.

When King promoted the summer riots in Birmingham in 1963, police identified and photographed a number of known Communists and suspected Communists in King's supporting groups.

The invasion of Mississippi by hundreds of beatniks, do-gooders and misfits, gathered most-

ly from college campuses, was organized and supported by Negro civil rights groups and The National Council of Churches. Among the Negro groups were Congress of Racial Equality, (CORE); The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC); The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The invasion has drawn support from Walter P. Reuther, of the United Auto Workers, and from a host of red-front groups, such as National Lawyers Guild and American Civil Liberties Union.

Now Congressman Utt has revealed that the Communists were also behind the planning and implementation of the invasion. The names he called in Washington on July 29 put the Communists to bed with the National Council of Churches, CORE, ANCC, Reuther and the rest:

*"Invasion of Mississippi by expeditionary forces from other states was carefully planned by the Communist conspiracy for civil disturbance beyond the ability of a single state to provide protection . . .*

*"If this is accomplished in Mississippi, it will spread into other states with destructive effect upon freedom in liberty.*

*"The cunning Communists have been able to entice fine Americans to do their work, but the guiding hand is still the Communist conspiracy," said Utt.*

Utt, whose remarks were put into the Congressional Record, named Frank S. Pastana as a lawyer working with the 'invaders' in Drew, Mississippi. Pastana and his wife were among the Americans to defy the State Department's ban on travel to Cuba in 1962. He was also identified by Utt as having been an instructor in the People's Education Center, identified by the California Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist School.

Others named by Utt included Maynard Omerberg, working with Pastana, and identified by the Congressman as having a long record in reports of the House Un-American Activities Committee; George Crockett, a Detroit attorney sent to Mississippi by the National Lawyers Guild (identified in sworn testimony before Senate and House committees as a legal arm of the Communist Party). Crockett, Utt revealed, had represented the chairman of the Michigan Communist Party in the Smith Act Trials in New York.

Martin Popper, a long-time Communist Party attorney, was revealed by Utt to be in Mississippi as attorney for the family of Michael Schwerner, one of the three slain civil rights workers.

Popper, incidentally, is so well recognized as an important legal aide to the Communist Party, that his mere presence in the Mississippi project would be sufficient to mark it as a Communist sponsored activity.

Also identified by Utt was Benjamin Smith, who registered as an agent for Fidel Castro under the foreign agents registration act, and serves as an officer of the identified Communist front, Southern Conference Education Fund.

Both Utt and Sen. Eastland identified other known Communist or Communist Party line followers in Mississippi. The evidence clearly supports the charge that the civil rights movement in Mississippi is Communist dominated.

Earlier in Alabama Joanne Grant, a Communist reporter, was active in Talladega in civil rights demonstrations, along with such other officially identified Communist Party members as Carl and Ann Braden and James A. Dombroski. Joanne Grant was represented in an injunction suit in Talladega by Victor Rabinowitz, a Communist Party attorney, fifth amendment Communist and identified Communist Party member.

Other identified Communist Party leaders known to have been active in civil rights activi-

ties in Alabama and the South include James E. Jackson, Joseph North and Mary Southard.

The Communist Party declared its involvement in the civil rights struggle on June 28, 1963, in a letter sent from THE WORKER, and signed by Louis Weinstock and James E. Jackson, to party members.

The Communist, in that letter, pleaded for financial support.

The following is an excerpt quoted from that letter:

*"With the enfranchisement of the Negro masses in the South the Democratic Party will acquire an influx of millions of militant working-men and women, steeled in the great struggle of the civil rights revolution. These sworn foes of the Dixiecrats and fighting partisans of social progress all down the line, by their political action in 1964, may well contribute to giving our nation a genuine new birth of democracy.*

*"Nothing in the affairs of our nation is more important than this great struggle that is rolling over our country like a mighty wave.*

*"Our paper has spared nothing to bring you the story of, and the inspiration from, this great revolutionary democratic struggle which is making radical changes in our nation in our days. By so doing we have rendered a distinct and unique service to the unfolding struggle which is highly regarded and deeply appreciated by outstanding fighters on the front lines of the numerous battles."*

The F.B.I., in a report issued last spring, took note of the Communist infiltration and leadership of civil rights action outside the South. The report covered Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, New York, San Francisco and Yellow Springs, Ohio, called names and listed incidents.

The following activity was outlined in that report:

#### CHICAGO

The Communists made efforts in 1963 to infiltrate the local CORE group. It pointed out

that several local Communists were identified in picket line demonstrations at the Board of Education and at construction sites for temporary classrooms. Among those active was Charles McCord, one-time head of the 42nd Ward Communist Club, and associate of Claude Lightfoot, Communist Party vice chairman. Lightfoot, officially second in command of the Communist Party nationally, also took part in the demonstrations during January, 1964.

Another identified Communist active in the demonstrations was Eugene Feldman, one time editor of THE DAILY WORKER.

#### CLEVELAND

The mayor of Cleveland in April, 1964, sent to the U. S. Department of Justice a list of 31 persons active in civil rights demonstrations, who also were active in subversive organizations. In a story in the CLEVELAND PRESS of April 25, one man on the list was identified as Eric J. Reinthaler. Reinthaler was serving as co-chairman of CORE in Cleveland. He had been released from federal prison at Milan, Michigan on July 19, 1962, after serving a 15 month sentence for violation of the non-communist affidavit section of the Taft-Hartley Act. Reinthaler had previously served as Ohio Valley secretary of the Communist Party.

#### ST. LOUIS

CORE was active in leading the demonstrations in St. Louis. William S. Massingale, who also took active part in the CORE directed sit-ins was a Communist Party candidate for alderman in 1943, and was once vice-chairman of the Communist Party in Missouri.

#### NEW YORK

Jesse Gray, of Harlem, has been active in civil disorders in New York and led a rent strike in Harlem this year. He took the fifth amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee on February 3, 1960, to questions of whether he had been a Communist Party member up until the morning of his testimony; whether he had been or was then an ex-

ecutive officer or representative of the Communist Party in Harlem. Gray was arrested in Chicago June 30, 1964, during a demonstration directed by ACT, a new and violent civil rights group.

(Gray, incidentally, has been featured on a recent national TV show on the Harlem riots, and advocated continued direct action by Negroes in violation of laws, court orders or police directives.

The same network has provided a forum for numerous incendiaries, including Malcolm X, of the Black Muslims, and Mrs. Victor Rabinowitz, who appeared on the show along with the parents of two of the slain civil rights workers in a documentary called "Search in Mississippi."

The major TV networks have shown bias and total irresponsibility in presentations of civil rights affairs, by allowing known communists and seditionists to speak unidentified before the American people, attacking our American institutions, our police and other constituted authorities, and further stirring up hatred, strife and lawlessness.)

#### SAN FRANCISCO

The report outlined civil rights activities in this West Coast City, in which more than 400 persons were arrested during sit-ins and demonstrations at hotels and automobile showrooms during March and April, 1964. It pointed out the demonstrators were neither peaceful nor law-abiding.

This predominately young group in San Francisco included such Communist or Communist associates as Tracy Sims, 18 year old militant Negro girl, who shares an apartment with Rosanne Forest, daughter of Jim Forest, one-time Communist Party leader in St. Louis, and with Linda Carlson, daughter of Frank Carlson, a long-time active Communist party functionary in Los Angeles. Rosanne Forest was among those arrested along with Tracy Sims. A number of others identified either as Communists or relatives of known Communist Party mem-

bers, were active in San Francisco. These included Mark Comfort, son-in-law of Robert Black, identified in 1953 as a Communist Party member; Carl Granich, son of "WORKER" columnist Mike Gold; Nora Lapin, daughter of the late Adam Lapin, one-time correspondent for "THE DAILY WORKER"; Bettina Aptheker, daughter of Herbert Aptheker, identified communist and editor of the communist publication POLITICAL AFFAIRS. Also arrested were Terrence Conn and Mathew Hallinan, sons of Vincent Hallinan, San Francisco attorney and 1952 presidential candidate of THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY ticket. (The Progressive Party has been identified as the Communist Party's bid for political power under another name.)

#### OPEN INVOLVEMENT

The Communist Party in San Francisco did nothing to hide its activity in the civil rights field. It formed a new Communist youth group there, after transferring its organizational meeting from Chicago. Keynote speaker at the organization of the Communist group was Rev. Milton Galaminson, Brooklyn militant leader of school desegregation and advocate of "Mixing" by transporting Negro and white children by bus to all parts of the city to bring about this mixing. Galaminson has advocated unlawful acts of all kinds and was one of those given nation-wide exposure on July 29, on a national TV documentary along with Gray, James Farmer, of CORE, and others.

Among those who issued the call to form the Communist youth group were Tracy Sims and Michael Myerson, of the "Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination". The latter group organized the San Francisco demonstrations.

The close amalgamation of this Communist youth group with CORE, one of the most militant of the left-wing groups, was shown by the fact that the following members of CORE were identified in the Communist youth group in official press releases:

Robert Baum, CORE in Minneapolis

Edward Campbell, vice chairman of CORE in Bridgeport, Conn.

Edward Reftwich, CORE in Bridgeport, Conn.

Michael Sheidrick, CORE in Paterson, N. J.

The group took the name of "Du Bois Clubs of America". The name was in honor of W. E. B. DuBois, one of the NAACP founders and later an open and admitted member of the Communist Party of America.

#### YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

This is the home of Antioch College, alma-mater of many reds and noted Communist fronters. On March 14, 1964, following violent demonstrations by several hundred students, police had to use clubs and tear gas to break up the mob.

One of the prime ring-leaders arrested and placed under bond was Joni Rabinowitz, daughter of Victor Rabinowitz, identified earlier. Her father came from New York to offer his services in defense of the students, just as he had done when Joni was tried for perjury in Albany, Georgia, in November, 1963. Joni, at that time, had avowed she would defy the State Department ban on travel to Cuba.

We could go back further to identify such known red-fronters as Dr. Walter Bergman, of Illinois, and James Peck, an employee of CORE who led the Freedom Riders in a violence-punctuated bus trip into Alabama and the South in 1961.

We could point to the host of home-grown Communist or Communist-line followers, who have been active in the civil rights movement. Among those we would list Aubrey Williams, of Montgomery and now of Washington, who has been identified as a Communist and who has served on half a hundred red fronts, including the notorious Southern Conference Education Fund, and was recently honored by Communists in New York for his work in trying to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

We could point to Clifford Durr, Montgomery attorney, and his wife, Virginia, both of whom have been active in many red front organizations. Clifford Durr and Williams were two of the signees of a petition to the 87th Congress in 1961, calling for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. They were joined in this petition by a host of identified Communist and veteran fellow travelers, including Harry Bridges, Louis Untermeyer, John M. Coe, Donald S. Frey, Dr. Linus Pauling, and Dr. Martin Luther King.

The facts beyond dispute prove that you can hardly speak of the so-called civil rights movement without mentioning the ever present, ever active Communist fronts which support it. One would have to disregard either the facts or truth to disassociate one from the other.

In other studies we have documented in depth the fact that the 1964 civil rights bill was copied from the Communist Party platform of 1928, and that two of its authors and sponsors, Rep. Emanuel Celler, of New York, and Sen. Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois, have records of long service to and association with the Communist conspiracy in America.

On January 29, 1964, F.B.I. Director Hoover appeared before the House Subcommittee on appropriations, in justification of the F.B.I.'s appropriation request for 1964. He dealt in much detail on the Communist program in America and the tactics employed to use the racial struggle to its own advantage.

On page 37 of that report, Hoover said:

*"Currently, the Communist Party, U.S.A. is stressing such domestic issues as the racial struggle; the abolition of all internal security programs and of congressional committees investigating communism . . ."*

On page 38:

*"The party is always alert for domestic developments which it can exploit to add to its*

*operating capital. A typical example occurred in May 1963, when a party official told the members of the party's national board that the racial unrest in this country presented an excellent opportunity to start a fund drive to raise up to \$10,000 in order to finance Communist Party activities among Negroes . . ."*

On page 40:

*"Turning to the subject of Communist interest in Negro activities, the approximately 20 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, U.S.A. The infiltration, exploitation, and control of the Negro population has long been a party goal and is one of its principal goals today."*

*"In this drive, Negroes have, over the years, been subjected to intensive and extensive Communist agitation and propaganda. The Communist Party has always depicted itself to Negroes as the champion of social protest and the leader in the struggle for racial equality . . . Controversial or potentially controversial racial issues are deliberately and avidly seized upon by Communists for the fullest possible exploitation. Racial incidents are magnified and dramatized by Communists in an effort to generate racial tensions. As a result, such campaigns are actually utilized as a stepping-stone to extend Communist influence among the Negroes . . . The Communist Party is attempting to use the Negro movement, as it does everything else, to promote its own interest rather than the welfare of those to whom it directs its agitation and propaganda."*

*"The party is continually searching for new avenues in order to expand its influence among the negroes. In particular, it has sought ways and means to exploit the militant forces of the Negro civil rights movement. (emphasis supplied.)*

*"The number of Communist Party recruits which may be attracted from the large Negro racial group in this Nation is not the important*

thing. The old Communist principle still holds: 'Communism must be built with non-Communist hands'.

"We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important. It can be the means through which large masses are caused to lose perspective on the issues involved and, without realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures." (emphasis supplied.)

These statements were made by Mr. Hoover several months before the riots brought his predictions to fulfillment.

In September, 1964, Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party, U.S.A., published a pamphlet called "THE ELEVENTH HOUR—DEFEAT THE NEW FASCIST THREAT." In this 22-page booklet, Hall makes much of the Communist Party's concern in civil rights, its part in pushing the Negro "FREEDOM NOW" movement. Hall expresses fear that conservative forces, "reactionaries" he called them, may prevail unless the militant left is more active. He blasts Goldwater, Gov. George Wallace, the F.B.I., the C.I.A., the Birch Society, and all others to the right of center.

"The racism of white supremacy is now mixed with the anti-democratic currents of fascism," Hall complains.

Further proof of the interest and involvement of the Communist in the Mississippi Project is furnished by the following excerpts from THE WORKER, official organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A.:

On September 22, 1964, page 3, of THE WORKER, was a story by Daniel Rubin, Communist youth leader, who was then in attendance at a Communist World Youth Forum, in Moscow. Rubin listed another American in attendance as Reginald Robinson, whom he identified as "among the leaders of SNCC in Mississippi". Carl Beloice, Publications Director of the DuBois Clubs of America, was also at the conference.

The August 4, 1964, edition of the Communist news organ carried a story on page 3, pointing out that newspapers, including the JACKSON CLARION AND LEDGER, had carried stories charging that Communists were active in Mississippi. The story pointed out that the newspaper article had charged that James Dann and Dale Gronemeier, both from Los Angeles, were pro-Communist and had Communist front records.

On the same page of THE WORKER, were separate stories and pictures on Mrs. Victoria Gray, leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the party's candidate for election to Congress from the Second District. The article said Mrs. Hamer's candidacy was sponsored by SNCC.

On page one of the same paper on August 4, was a story date-lined Greenville, Mississippi, and written by one of the freedom workers. This shows the close contact between SNCC, the National Council of Churches, and the Freedom Democratic Party, all deeply involved in the registration drive:

*... There is a minister and his wife (both about 60 years of age) from The National Council of Churches, and a librarian who came down to put our books in shape . . . I slept in the home of Mrs. Victoria Gray, candidate for the Senate of the Freedom Democratic Party which we are organizing and for which we are trying to get registered voters."*

On August 30, 1964, page 10, THE WORKER carried a story about the death and funeral of Mrs. Gil Green (Lillian). Green and his wife were both noted Communists and Gil Green has held many of the highest offices in the Communist Party of America during the past 30 years. The story noted that it was requested no flowers be sent but that contributions be made to the Mississippi freedom fighters."

The SUNDAY WORKER, September 6, 1964, page 6, carried in its letters to the editor

column, a letter from a student in Muncie, Indiana. The student sent a small contribution to THE WORKER, and apologized that he could not do more financially. Then he noted:

*"... I did manage to raise from a rally on July 8, enough contributions to send \$25.00 and a donated typewriter (brand new) to COFO in Jackson, Mississippi . . ." (COFO is Council of Federated Organizations, an association of civil rights groups working in the Mississippi Project.)*

Throughout the Summer and Fall, THE WORKER reported the work of the Mississippi Project volunteers in glowing accounts, clearly indicating the Communist Party's approval and support of this project. This, and the presence of so many identified Communist Party members and pro-Communist groups, proves beyond a doubt that the project has high priority on the Communist action agenda.

THE WORKER recently made an appeal for funds in which it said: "Many of you, too, support our right to publish because of our unwavering position on civil rights. For you know the role this newspaper has played since the time of freeing of the Scottsboro boys which marked the beginning of a new stage in the long crusade for full equality. This paper was the first to be fully integrated, has had Negro editors and staff members throughout the years, and today has as its editor-in-chief, James E. Jackson, a leader of the Negro people."

During the red-inspired "Mississippi Summer Project" Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., an attorney for Walter P. Reuther's United Auto Workers, was sent into that state by Reuther to furnish legal assistance to those arrested for violation of Mississippi's laws. Rauh, one of the founders, along with Hubert H. Humphrey, of the far-left Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), was further noted for his defense of convicted Com-

munist perjurer, William Remington. Rauh will also be remembered as the man who worked so hard to throw Alabama and Mississippi delegates out of the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City last August, and to seat the Negro Freedom Democratic Party.

It is interesting to note the frequent use of two expressions in almost all recent Communist publications and writing. These phrases are "FREEDOM NOW" and "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE". This latter slogan originated in Africa where both Chinese and Russian Communists were stirring up illiterate mobs to take over existing, non-Communist governments.

It is significant that this phrase, and the phrase "FREEDOM NOW" have become the rallying cry for the most militant civil rights groups in the United States. It is frightening that the U. S. Supreme Court adopted the "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" policy in overthrowing long existing state legislative bodies, patterned after the two-house legislative body of the United States itself. The court has made it clear in recent opinions that it is using the Communist-created slogan as a legal yardstick in its decisions.

The pattern of the Communist racial program clearly emerges in the present Civil Rights struggle and its violent by-products.

As a host of federal police push forward to enforce all the freedom-killing provisions of the Civil Rights Bill, and while militant Negroes and Communists push violent demonstrations and riots for ever more and more advantage over the white majority, we must at least know our enemy.

The facts establish beyond any peradventure of a doubt that the major role of the Communist in America in 1964, is being played out within the framework of civil rights.

THE  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
OF  
CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

STAFF STUDY

BY

THE ALABAMA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION

TO

PRESERVE THE PEACE

JUNE, 1964



Representative JOHN H. HAWKINS, Chairman

Senator JAMES S. CLARK, Vice Chairman

Senator E.O. EDDINS

Representative ALTON TURNER

Representative HUGH A. LOCKE, JR.

EDWIN STRICKLAND, Staff Director

MRS. MAVIS HICKS, Secretary

From June 1963 through October 1963 the Commission gave the following summary of its work:

Delegations of church leaders gathered and led;

1. Medgar Evers funeral in Jackson, Miss.
2. Desegregation of Glyn Oaks Park, Baltimore, Md.
3. Interracial Service of Worship and Witness, Clarksdale, Miss.
4. Interracial Service of Worship and Procession, Wilmington, N.C.
5. Washington March
6. Memorial Service to murdered children, Birmingham, Ala.
7. Visit to congressional leaders and Attorney General, Sept., 18.

FACT FINDING TRIPS AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR JUSTICE IN THE FOLLOWING COMMUNITIES:

Clarksdale, Miss.  
Savannah, Ga.  
Greenwood, Miss.  
Sumpter, S.C.  
Orangeburg, S.C.  
Selma, Ala.  
Bel Air, Md.  
Malverne, L.I., New York  
Birmingham, Ala.  
Tuskegee, Ala.  
Huntsville, Ala.  
Americus, Ga.

BAILING SERVICES:

Through the services of the National Council, over ninety (90) people have been released on bail from arduous and severe prison situations, the youngest in his early teens, and the oldest over seventy. The Commission, with the assistance of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, were able to secure the services of a national lending company for the first time to put up money for Civil Rights cases in Mississippi.

"Currently," the Commission reported, "in co-operation with local and state councils and churches, teams of Civil Rights and Religious Leaders are touring six mid-western states-----

"The Commission Staff has consulted frequently with the JUSTICE DEPARTMENT and other governmental agencies, -National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, Congress of Racial Equality, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.

"The Commission sponsored a joint advertisement with Freedom House on "The Crisis in Race Relations" in the August 25th issue of the NEW YORK TIMES.---In co-operation with the Broadcasting and Film Commission, a four-part series on the race issue was prepared for broadcast on the CBS television program "Look Up and Live", Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27.

"The Commission on Religion and Race represents one of the important decisions of the church during the past few months to move into more direct involvement in the scandalous racial con-

troversy that divides the nation---The Commission finds itself at the end of four months more deeply engaged in the struggle than many felt possible----

"The church is not in a position to schedule the pace of the racial revolution sweeping the country. Events have pushed the Commission all summer long, as is evident from the summary of where we have been involved. The freedom movement and the resistance to it have deep grass roots and no single force in the country can control or contain the struggle.

"Despite the new alertness on the part of the churches to the legitimate demands for civil rights, the gap between most white church people's understanding of the issues and the concerns of the Negro freedom movement continues to widen. Actually there has been more talk about civil rights in the past few months than actual achievement. Many white people begin to profess fear that Negro rights are being obtained too fast. And yet in most communities, little progress in public accomodations or voting rights or housing have been achieved. And every time there is another shocking murder or brutality, the chill sinks deeper into the Negro's being.

"In certain parts of the country fanatical white supremacists have stepped up their hard-core resistance to Negro civil rights. The parallels between this situation and conditions which prevailed in Germany when the Nazis took over are frightening in the extreme. There exists now clear evidence that these 'master-race' believers control state governments and employ both a gestapo and extra-legal mob action to enforce their will. What is more shocking, in some cities they are able to compel churches and ministers to preach an heretical doctrine of man, which condones segregation and distorts the Christian faith. Both Negroes and whites who do not submit to their view are subject to harrassment and threats to their lives."

Under FUTURE WORK the Commission says:

1. We need to increase the facility of the Commission to move swiftly to areas of crisis and tension. We need to increase the field staff so that it can effectively mobilize local and regional church resources to avert destructive conflict between Negro action groups and white vested interests. This can only be accomplished by the establishment of open communications between the contending groups on an equal basis. In many communities, only the outside help of a trusted group can bring this about. Only the local groups can eventually solve the conflict, but the universality of the christian church is an asset in breaking down the barriers of intense local feeling. There are many more calls for this kind of assistance than we can possibly meet. There is no question but what the intensity and frequency of local conflict will increase. We have established our effectiveness in this important ministry of reconciliation. We must not relinquish it.

2. We must do a more effective job of interpreting the depth of the grievances which the Negro bears to the white community. The increase of police brutality, the use of local ordinances to deny Negroes their constitutional rights have been amply documented to us this summer. With our eyes and ears we begin to know some of the horror that thousands are experiencing. The whole nation must be constantly informed. As part of this responsibility, the Commission proposes to invite a panel of distinguished Americans to meet in Washington in late November to hear testimony on police brutality in civil rights cases this past summer. These cases are often beyond federal jurisdiction, and are frequently not reported in the newspapers.

3. The Commission with the help of the member communions must prepare the churches for the fullest confrontation with the consequences of the sin of racial hatred. In too many places the interpretation is allowed that the present crisis is a 'political' matter only, and that the church's involvement in it is extraneous and interventionist. The full theological and moral canon of the church is threatened by segregation according to race. When people are denied entrance to public worship on that ground, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is mocked.

We must develop ministries of gospel interpretation to those who hold erroneous views of biblically blessed segregation. We must also be prepared to resist pressures and threats of withdrawal of financial support if accommodation is not made to sanctioned racial discrimination. Such a firm stand must not itself become retaliatory or self-righteous. The lines are being more clearly drawn, however, by the events of our common life. The church's faithfulness to the Word and its servant ministry in the racial struggle are inextricably bound. The future of our evangelical mission in the American scene rests on the clarity of our word and deed--the measure of our faithfulness to Christ.

4. The member communions must continue to see this racial crisis as a priority concern.--- Our close consultation with the government, our association with other national groups, an effective legal liaison, large scale programs of redevelopment, legislative representation, can only be done co-operatively.----

The Commission's budget for 1964 is \$248,960, which is at least \$100,000 less than what is needed.---There are many long range programs to which we ought to be giving our attention. One, for example, is a massive home mission based kind of operation in the Mississippi Delta, the hard-core area of racial discrimination in the South. It is a problem that affects the north, however, because so many Negroes are forced to migrate north from that area in order to survive. The problems here, however, are more than simply the right to vote, although that is basic. They are economic and welfare problems. They also are educational. Why cannot the vast resources and know-how of Protestant home mission interests be turned to the healing of this dreadful cancer in the midst of the nation?"

On April 16, 1964, the Commission of Religion and Race issued a two-page report related to 'Student Involvement in the South, Summer of 1964....An Appeal for Help in Screening.' It was sent to presidents, deans and religious advisors of colleges, universities, and seminaries. It said in part:

"The summer of 1964 will find an unprecedented number of students working in some phase of the movement for civil rights. Estimates run into the thousands. In The New York Times, Friday, March 20, James Reston reported that 'over 1,000 students from various colleges and universities, most of them affiliated with the Northern Student Movement, will be going to Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana this summer to live in Negro homes and help the Negro to vote.'

"It is apparent that the summer of 1964 will be a time of serious crises. The tremendous number of students who will seek and accept summer assignments is but one factor contributing to crisis. In addition, there are such related factors as an extended filibuster on the civil rights legislation now pending in the Senate, the substantially increased participation by local Negroes in civil rights programs, the continued resistance to social change in both northern and southern parts of our country, and the anger and fear in southern states towards the rumored 'invasion' by students, and the growing impatience of the Negro leadership with the slowness of progress.---- it is crucial that those of us who work directly with students do all we can to help insure that students who volunteer are adequately screened and trained, and that they are intelligently and responsibly related to existing programs designed to meet such massive needs as literacy training, voter education, voter registration, citizenship education and community development.-----"

"In the face of the problems discussed above, attempts to provide screening, orientation, and training are going forward. Some of the civil rights, religious and other organizations, particularly where numbers are small, will carefully select, orient, and train the applicants for their projects.

"In addition, the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race has agreed to undertake a program of orientation and training. A number of organizations are requiring their volunteers to attend this orientation program when no other training is available.-----"

"We have agreed to train students out of the conviction that the church has the responsibility to do everything possible to avert violence; out of the recognition that organizations recruiting large numbers of students will find it difficult to provide orientation and training; out of the need for people trained in skills like literacy education and voter registration; and out of the belief that orientation and training will benefit not only organizations operating projects and the students, but also the states where projects are taking place.-----"

The above excerpts from the N.C.C. and its' racial Committee, demonstrate clearly that the National Council of Churches has been and will be, promoting, directing and helping to finance the racial demonstrations this summer.

It also proves in the words of the N.C.C. that it approves, fosters, and urges the breaking of laws which IT considers to be unjust.

From other sources and from the public press, we know that students are being recruited...hired is a better word... off the college campuses to lead the invasion of Dark Dixie.

After looking at what the N.C.C. is doing through its' Commission on Religion and Race, let's take a closer look at the NCC itself.

In 1960, James Wine, Associate General Secretary of the N.C.C. protested to Hon. Dudley C. Sharp, Secretary of the Air Force, that its Air Reserve Center Training Manual charged the N.C.C. was associated with or influenced by the Communist Party, and that there were Communist Anti-Religious activities being carried on in some Christian churches and church religious institutions. The Air Force withdrew the training manual and apologized to the N.C.C.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities then called a hearing on the matter. Secretary Sharp was the principal witness. (Hearing before the HCUA, Feb. 25, 1960). On page 1303 of the Hearing Record, Richard Arens, Staff Director, HCUA, made the following findings:

.....Thus far of the leadership of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, we have found over 100 persons in leadership capacity with either Communist Front records or records of service to Communist causes. The aggregate affiliations of the leadership, instead of being in the hundreds, as the chairman first indicated, is now, according to our latest count, into the thousands and we have yet to complete our check, which would certainly suggest on the basis of the authoritative sources of this committee that the statement that there is infiltration of fellow travelers in churches and educational institutions is a complete understatement."

On Oct. 15, 1963, the N.C.C. held a testimonial meeting at Carnegie Hall to honor Dr. Harry F. Ward on his 90th birthday. Dr. Ward, founder of the Methodist Federation for Social Action (officially identified as a Communist front), was long active with the N.C.C., and its predecessor, the Federal Council of Churches. He has been officially identified as a member of the Communist Party; was a close friend and confidant of Eugene Debs, Founder of the U.S. Socialist Party, and William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party of America. He was head of Union Theological Seminary for many years, and is credited with influencing many ministers toward his "Social Gospel" and the Communist Party.

Karl Prussion, former F.B.I. counter-spy, testified that the Communist Party in Michigan tried to recruit him to the Protestant Ministry while he was a student at Wayne University. Prussion said he was told that Dr. Ward, at Union Theological Seminary, would make all arrangements for him to enroll as a student at the Seminary.

In 1961, The United Youth Movement, of the N.C.C., published a pamphlet by William Cole Graham, called "The Meaning of Sex in Christian Life." In slang expressions, this pamphlet virtually advocates the flouting of sex standards by un-married teen agers, and endorses their revolt against such standards. To quote from one paragraph of the pamphlet:

"Our culture declares that all sexual activity within marriage is legal, proper and good, while any such activity outside marriage is illegal, sinful and wrong. This is to ignore the personal dimensions of life, to seek to force everyone under one massive legal umbrella. You know and I know perfectly well that there are many marriages that are simply matters of convenience that such sex as goes on within them is selfish, exploitative, and evil.

"We know further, that there is sexual contact between Unmarried couples that is motivated by love and which is pure and on occasions beautiful.

The above is to review only sketchily the scope and nature of the activities and teachings of the National Council of Churches. This group claims to represent 38 protestant denominations and to speak for 40,000,000 christians. It has and does, draw its funds and substance from all protestant denominations in some way, whether directly through donations and church budgets, or through the sale of literature, including almost all that is used in Sunday school and Bible studies.

The N.C.C. also approved the revised edition of the Bible, and draws royalty therefrom. Of the 99 ministers who worked on the revision, 30 have been exposed as having records of Communist front activity.

On Nov. 18-21, 1958 the N.C.C. sponsored the Fifth World Study Conference in Cleveland, Ohio. The President of the N.C.C., Dr Edwin Dahlberg, was a delegate, as were most of the top officials of N.C.C. The Study Conference adopted a resolution urging American recognition of Red China, one of the principal aims of all Communist groups in America during the past 10 years.

Contrary to popular belief, The National Council of Churches does not operate as a 'Super Church' and is more of a political pressure group than a religious federation. It maintains a strong lobby in Washington. It is deep in political meddling and social irresponsibility, as shown by its clear history, and enjoys the status of a tax exempt institution. It was active in support of abolishing public prayer in schools.

Further proof of its deep and direct involvement in the often violent and always lawless social demonstrations has just been furnished this Commission by Police Chief Virgil Stuart, of St. Augustine, Fla. Police there obtained documented evidence that the financial backing for the demonstrations was sent to St. Augustine in large money-orders by the N.C.C. from its National Headquarters. Cashier checks, in the amount of nearly six thousand dollars (\$6,000) were sent back un-used to the N.C.C. from St. Augustine.

The conclusions are clear. The citizens who support their churches from a feeling of reverence and responsibility, are also being unwittingly used by the N.C.C. in its attack on racial integrity and individual freedoms in the South.

# THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

*... ITS PATTERN*

*... ITS ARCHITECTS*

PREPARED BY THE STAFF OF

THE

ALABAMA LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION  
TO PRESERVE THE PEACE

By authorization of that Commission  
in a resolution adopted March 11, 1964



Representative JOHN H. HAWKINS, *Chairman*

Senator JAMES S. CLARK, *Vice Chairman*

Senator E. O. EDDINS

Representative ALTON TURNER

Representative HUGH A. LOCKE, JR.

EDWIN STRICKLAND, *Staff Director*

MRS. MAVIS HICKS, *Secretary*

In the reconstruction era following the War Between the States the Congress of the U. S. passed a series of Civil Rights Bills, many of which bear remarkable similarity to the proposed 1964 Civil Rights Bill.

In 1883 certain of these acts dealing with private property were considered by the U. S. Supreme Court and in a majority opinion written by Justice Bradley were held to be unconstitutional. The court further held that the congress received no authority under the 13, 14, or 15th amendments to enact such legislation.

The only difference in the approach taken by the 1964 bill is in the fact that it seeks to draw its authority under the Commerce Clause of the Constitution rather than from these amendments.

In his opinion Justice Bradley could well have been speaking to the Congress today when he said:

"When a man has emerged from slavery, and by the aid of beneficent legislation has shaken off the inseparable concomitants of that state, there must be some stage in the progress of his elevation when he takes the rank of mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws, and when his rights as a citizen, or a man, are to be protected in the ordinary modes by which other men's rights are protected."

No bill ever seriously urged in the Congress of the United States has presented so bold an attempt at creating a federal dictatorship through the executive branch as does the proposed Civil Rights Bill of 1964.

The bill is little understood by the American public. It was conceived in secrecy, revised in a conspiracy of silence, mislabeled as a "moderate approach" and is urged on the Congress as a pig in a poke. It is couched in language so obscure of meaning as to open a vast new field of federal court interpretation and execu-

tive construction. Even the House Committee on the Judiciary, in a minority report, complained that committee members opposed to the bill were unable to know the full content and import of the bill before it was favorably reported to the House for passage.

Starkly silhouetted from the careful verbiage, however, are the following facts, which we feel to represent the complete antithesis of everything American; a dire threat to individual freedoms it purports to assure; a bold grab for power, and totally unwarranted either by good judgment or circumstances.

1. The bill would virtually eliminate the use and enjoyment of private property—the fundamental right that has set America apart from the slave states.

2. It would remove the constitutionally guaranteed right of trial by jury by substituting a "master" to hear complaints originating under the act. It further makes it almost impossible for an individual to challenge the provisions of the act by imposing upon such a losing litigant the burden of all cost of such lawsuit INCLUDING THE ATTORNEY FEES INCURRED BY THE OPPOSING LITIGANT.

3. By requiring racial, ethnic and religious "balance" in employment, it places upon industry, business and labor unions an impossible burden. In practice, this provision could mean federal control of every facet of such business, industry or labor organization.

4. It would open the flood gates to endless litigation which could mean financial ruin to any business or industry which might be frequently ACCUSED of violating its provisions, whether or not there was basis in fact for such accusation.

5. It would effectively place under federal control the operation of every local school system in the United States, making non-elected judges absolute arbiters in all matters pertaining to the operation of such school systems.

6. It would create a vast new network of federal enforcement personnel; enable such federal appointees, in many instances, to act against a person's liberty or property without due process of law, thereby creating the machinery for a police state.

There are so many objectional features of the act, not here covered, as to make the entire bill unacceptable, even through remedial amendments. The argument that the enforcement of its provisions would be with "restraint" does not make the act any more acceptable or platable. Once such a bill is enacted, interested groups will press for full enforcement as fast as the new "super-government" could be set up.

This is not an anti-South bill. It is an anti-American bill. Its provisions would fall as heavily upon the North as upon the South. The loss of personal liberties would fall equally upon all races, religions and ethnic groups. The loss of semi-sacred right of ownership and enjoyment of private property would apply equally to the Negro and to the white owner.

In its subtle attack upon labor unions through elimination of apprentice programs and seniority rights, the bill would destroy the effectiveness of such unions in their representation of membership.

In the platform of the WORKERS' (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF 1928 WE READ A MILD FORM OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

On May 25, 1928, the Party, adopted a 12-point national platform dealing with the race issue. These communist goals enumerated then have remained the goals of the communist actionaries in America ever since, as will be shown.

1. Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, political, and social equality for the Negro Race.

2. Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes. Abolition of all Jim Crow laws. The law shall forbid all discrimination against Negroes in selling or renting houses.

3. Abolition of all laws which disfranchise Negroes.

4. Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

5. Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities.

6. Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all railway station waiting rooms, restaurants, hotels and theatres.

7. Federal law against lynching and the protection of the Negro masses in their right of self-defense.

8. Abolition of discriminatory practices in courts against Negroes. No discrimination in jury service.

9. Abolition of the convict lease system and of the chain gang.

10. Abolition of all Jim Crow distinctions in the Army, Navy and civil service.

11. Immediate removal of all restrictions in all trade unions against the membership of Negro workers.

12. Equal opportunity for employment, wages, hours, and working conditions for Negro and white workers. Equal pay for equal work for Negro and white workers.

It is well to keep in mind that this is not the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. It was the platform of the Communist Party some 36 years ago.

The Civil Rights bill of 1964 does not contain all parts of that platform, because some of them have long since been enacted into federal law. But the bill under debate now goes much further than even the communist

demands, in fact, a careful reading of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill makes the Communist Party Platform seem most conservative.

To show that the communist party has held firm to its 1928 line, the National Committee of the Communist Party issued a statement on Oct. 5, 1955, which read in part:

"Most important is the further strengthening of a great united movement based on the maximum mobilization of the Negro People and their organizations, with the united support of the Labor Movement. Simultaneously the Communist will play their part in helping to guarantee the participation and the militant initiative of the Left.

"Pass civil rights legislation! End segregation! Full equality for the Negro people—now!"

#### THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

*"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois (i.e. capitalists) property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitations of the many by the few; in this sense the theory of the Communist may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."*

The quotes above and below from the Communist manifesto, finds expression in Titles II, VI and VII, of the Civil Rights Bill.

"... In a word, you may reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so. That is just what we intend."

"It is (the bill) in the most literal sense, destructive of the very essence of life as it has been lived in this country since the adoption of our Constitution." (Minority report, House Committee on the judiciary.)

"... bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement (property) vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

"The undersigned members of the Committee believe it wise to demonstrate, by example, the effect of this legislation on people; to demonstrate, by example, the mourning of lost liberty; to demonstrate, by example, the power in this bill to completely dominate the lives of even the least of us." (Minority report, House Committee on the judiciary.)

*"In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality... and the abolition of that state of things is called by the bourgeois abolition of individuality and freedom! and rightly so. The abolition of individuality, bourgeois independence and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at..."*

"... The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeois; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state... of course in the beginning this cannot be effected by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property..."

This Bill "constitutes the greatest grasp for executive power conceived in the 20th Century." (From minority report, House Committee on the judiciary.)

*"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas..."* (See Civil Rights Bill generally.)

The Civil Rights Bill will cause our "fireball of Liberty to spin into darkness." (Minority report, House Committee on the judiciary.)

"... But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality,

*instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experiences . . .*

It can be seen from this that the proposed bill embraces and embodies virtually every facet of that platform and the principal objectives set out in the communist manifesto. But far more important, the proposed civil rights bill goes far beyond these proposals of the Communist Party platform of 1928 in that it abolishes the right of trial by jury and makes an even more forceful attack upon private property rights.

Every conscientious American should respect the right of any other American to be wrong on occasion. It is in this spirit that we herein briefly sketch the back-ground of two of the architects and promoters of the 1964 Civil Rights bill. In this the Commission does not attempt to place guilt or to impute Un-American motives to either of the two men or to any other person who might endorse or promote the bill. It is done in the hopeful suggestion that if these men could have been wrong, or misled in their past decisions and associations, the possibility is inescapable that they may be wrong in their advocacy of the present civil rights bill.

*"What has been disillusioning is the manner in which they (the Communist) have been able to enlist support often from apparently well meaning but thoroughly duped persons." (J. Edgar Hoover)*

*"Every man has his value, his merit. The writer, who without being a party member, defends the Soviet international policy, is worth more than a thousand party members." (George Dimitrof, to the Lenin School of Political Welfare.)*

Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois

While a professor at the University of Chicago, the man who is now senator from Illinois compiled an impressive list of associations with

group and individuals identified with the communist apparatus or the communist "solar system" of fronts.

He was a member of the Socialist Party in the early 1930s and headed the campaign committee for **Norman Thomas** in Chicago in 1932.

He was on the executive committee of the **International Labor Defense** (officially identified as a legal arm of the communist party for the defense of arrested revolutionaries).

He signed the petitions for freedom for **Sacco and Vanzetti**, 1928, and was on the defense committee for **Mary Ware Dennett**, 1931, exposed for her alleged unamerican activities in war time in the Lusk Report.

In 1931 he was chairman, Chicago branch, **American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia** cited by HUAC as a Communist Front.

He was on the advisory commission of **Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment**, a subsidiary of the **Socialist League for Industrial Democracy**. This group conducted a Worker's training school, in 1933, and was co-sponsor in October, 1932, of a "hunger march" in which the **Communist Party** participated and displayed hundreds of revolutionary placards and soviet emblems.

He was a member of the technical staff of the **First American Trade Union Delegation to Russia**, 1927. This group was repudiated by the **American Federation of Labor** and was warmly reported in the Communist Press, including the **Daily Worker** and **Federated Press**. The delegation issued a series of reports entitled "Russia After Ten Years", published by the **Communist International Publishers**, and a second report "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade", sold by communist book stores and recommended by the **Soviet Information Bureau** (See March, 1931 issue, "Soviet Union Review"). The book report was edited by Stuart Chase, Rex Guy Tugwell and Communist Robert W. Dunn, all members of the delegation.

After William Green, president of the A.F.L. had repudiated the delegation, Jay Lovestone, national secretary of the Communist Party, in the party's convention in New York in 1927, stated that the Communist had been able over the protest of President Green, of the A.F.L. to send a labor delegation to Russia.

Douglas was co-author with Communist Robert W. Dunn of a chapter "The Trade Union Movement" in the book "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade."

He was on the Berger National Foundation advisory board. This was a Socialist organization set up in honor of Victor L. Berger (convicted for sedition) and its purpose was explained by notorious atheist and communist frenemy, Clarence Darrow. In accepting presidency of the foundation March 1, 1931, at the National Press Club in Washington, D. C., Darrow said, "It is of paramount importance that we establish our own press as quickly as possible. There is every evidence of the emergence of working class forces in this country . . ."

The announced aims of the foundation were "to honor the memory of the late Victor L. Berger. Its founders believe that this can best be done by rendering effective aid to these minority causes to which he devoted himself for four decades . . . by the building of a newspaper press which will mobilize public opinion in behalf of the ideals for which liberals, progressives and peace advocates contend."

In 1934 Douglas was on the committee of the militant socialist Conference for Progressive Political Action. Robert Moses Lovett and Upton Sinclair were well known communists who were active in the conference. Douglas served as temporary chairman for the group at its initial meeting at the University of Chicago.

This group praised Soviet Russia and damned capitalism, and adopted as its platform "public ownership of the means of wealth production"

and called for the "nationalization of money and credits", and of public utilities and of various basic industries. The collapse of our present capitalist system was predicted and the scrapping of our constitution proposed to abolish what they called "absentee ownership of property." The masses were urged to rise and take control.

Douglas served on the advisory committee of the Garland Fund Committee on American Imperialism, in 1925. Two studies were made by the committee that year, one was on American Investors in Cuba, Santo Domingo and Bolivia. Two other studies published in book form under auspices of the committee were by well known communist Party members, Scott Nearing, called "Dollar Diplomacy" and Robert W. Dunn, called "American Foreign Investments".

The Garland Fund, also known as the American Fund for Public Service and as the "Free Love Fund" (because its founder served a prison term in Massachusetts for running a "free love farm") was set up by a radical, Charles Garland, for the expressed purpose of "promoting radical causes."

The fund contributed millions of dollars directly to known communist causes. The fund report shows some of the disbursements as follows:

Daily Worker, \$57,000; New Masses, \$64,500; Vanguard Press, \$139,000; Federated Press, \$76,000; Russian Reconstruction Farms, \$34,000; International Labor Defense, \$54,000; Brookwood Labor College, \$115,000; Commonwealth College, \$25,000. Other sums were given to the Young Workers League (later Young Communist League); support of the communist-led Gastonia strike; the Labor Research Association; Novy Mir, Russian communist paper of New York; the International Workers of the World, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the NAACP. All but the last two are definitely identified as communistic.

Some identity of the directors of the fund are enough to indicate its fully communistic character. They include William Z. Foster, Scott Nearing, Elizabeth Flynn, Robert W. Dunn, and Benjamin Gitlow, all national functionaries of the Communist Party.

Samuel Gompers solicited help from the Fund for a legitimate labor cause and was turned down by Roger Baldwin, fund chairman, who said in his letter of rejection "we do not see our way clear to financing any enterprise except those definitely committed to a radical program . . ."

Senator Douglas has in past years allowed his name to be associated, actively or passively, in many other radical movements in addition to those listed here. As a distinguished senator, we feel sure he considers many of these to be indiscretions of the past. But he is today one of the strong proponents of the most drastic piece of legislation ever proposed in America. Isn't it time for Senator Douglas and his fellow members of the Senate to stop and consider their actions before a step is taken that could well be irrevocable?

#### Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York

Without reviewing the history of the notorious Garland Fund listed above, we begin by pointing out that Congressman Celler was also connected with the Garland Fund in the same capacity as Sen. Douglas.

Celler was also associated with such other identified "fronts" as The Consumers Union, founded by Arthur Kallett, identified as a communist under the name of Edward Adams.

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, in which were found such noted communist and "fronters" as Manning Johnson and Bella Dodd, (they both since then rejected communism), Veto Marcantonio, Paul Kerns, Max Yergin and Doxy Wilkerson. The organization was identified by the House Committee on UN-American Activities as being associated with the National Negro

Youth Congress, American Youth Congress, International Commission on African Affairs, League of Women Shoppers, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the National Lawyers Guild.

He was a sponsor of the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. This committee had many pro-communist and fellow travelers associated with it, and its membership was interlocking to a remarkable degree with the National Citizens Political Action Committee, an identified communist front. The National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism was labeled by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist infiltrated.

Celler was a sponsor in May, 1943 of the Celebration of 15 Years of Biro Bidjan (a Jewish colony in the Soviet Union). The pro-red nature of this affair was evidenced by the wide "front" associations of its chairman, Max Levine, its secretary A. Jenofsky, and some of the other sponsors, notably Ben Gold, Louis Winstock, M. Stern, Max Bedacht, Alexander Bittleman, Louis B. Boudin, Peter V. Cacchione, N. Buchwald, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, and Berta Gersten. Some of the above were identified communists.

Celler also served as sponsor on the Ambijan Committee for Emergency Aid to the Soviet Union, which was headed by Max Levin and Joseph B. Boudin, and on the dinner committee for The American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan.

Congressman Celler has allowed his name to be associated, actively or passively, with a number of other groups infiltrated by communist or well-known fellow travelers.

The Civil Rights Bill of 1964 passed the House of Representatives under the guidance of Cong. Celler, isn't the fact of his past mistakes in associations and judgment sufficient cause to give pause in consideration of the bill now in the Senate?

We want to emphasize that this is not for the purpose of imputing improper motives to either of the gentlemen above mentioned. Their past activities and associations were enumerated to sound a warning signal in the consideration of this bill. Similar backgrounds could have been listed for at least some of the other members of the Congress, found in active support of this measure.

We submit the following conclusions:

1. The 1964 Civil Rights Bill follows in marked degree the Communist Party Platform of 1928, but is more radical.
2. It seeks to accomplish many of the precepts set forth in the Communist Party Manifesto, especially in the sections dealing with private property.
3. Found among its authors and active leaders, both in the Congress and out, are persons whose past associations with pro-communist causes are marked.
4. In its enforcement, the bill would greatly diminish, or abolish, the rights of every American, of whatever race, religion or economic state, and would set in motion the feared machinery of a police state in frightening simi-

larity to the courses followed by countries now in Communist enslavement.

5. The proposed act is repugnant to the constitution and the Bill of Rights, and runs counter to prior decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

References where not otherwise listed:

The Civil Rights Bill

The Minority Report of the House Committee on the Judiciary

The Communist Manifesto

The Platform of the Workers (Communist) Party of 1928

"The Red Network" by Elizabeth Dilling

Publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (including Appendix IX.)

The Internal Security Sub-Committee of the U.S. Senate

J. Edgar Hoover, F.B.I. Director

Martin Dies Story, Martin Dies

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